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A CRITICAL ESSAY ON THE ANCIENT INHABITANTS Of the *Northern Parts* of *BRITAIN*, or *SCOTLAND*.

CONTAINING
An ACCOUNT of the *Romans*, of the *Britains* betwixt the Walls, of the *Caledonians* or *Picts*, and particularly of the *Scots*.

WITH
An APPENDIX of ancient MS. Pieces.

In TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

By *THOMAS INNES*, M. A.

LONDON:
Printed for WILLIAM INNYS, at the Weſt-End of St. *Paul's*. MDCCXXIX.

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THE PREFACE.

I. *THE humour of running up the originals of nations to incredible heights, prevailed almoſt among all thoſe, of whom we have any certain account: each nation vying with, and endeavouring to ſurpaſs one another in their antiquities. Thus we obſerve the contentions that were in ancient times, betwixt the* Egyptians, *the* Scythians, *and other Nations of the* Eaſt, *concerning the antiquity of their firſt ſettlements; and to what an abſurd multitude of years, and number of ancient kings they pretended.*

THE moſt part of other nations were in proportion poſſeſſed with the ſame humour, and the more they were ignorant of what paſſed before their own time, the more they were inclined to run up their antiquities to incredible heights; nay, ſome even before the creation of the world.

IT is then no wonder, that the inhabitants of Great Britain *and* Ireland *were like to other nations in this. The time of the firſt planting of theſe iſlands, being in thoſe ages, when they had no uſe of letters, and by conſequence no means of preſerving the memory of paſt tranſactions, and leſs yet of calculation of dates or epochs, left them a fair field of expatiating in the dark ages of the moſt remote antiquity, under the conduct of their ignorant and venal guides the bards, famous for their flattering their patrons with ancient pedegrees, and whole nations with ancient ſucceſſions of kings.*

II. *IN the courſe of ages, in proportion as the world came to be poliſhed with letters, arts and ſciences, and with the knowledge of the rules of chronology, all thoſe high fabricks of antiquity, which the vanity or ignorance of former times had reared up, were the more eaſily overturned, that they had no ſolid foundation nor ſupport; particularly within theſe two laſt ages, when, by the diſcovery of ſo many monuments of antiquity, which in former ages had*

had lain forgotten, and, as it were, buried in the corners of old libraries, the true taſte of ſolid antiquity hath been revived, and the ſtudy of genuine hiſtorical monuments, and of the rules of chronology, improved, we obſerve that the more learned, almoſt in all countries, have, without any offence of the generality of their countrymen, and with the approbation of the beſt judges among them, made no difficulty to enquire into the grounds of their more remote antiquities; and however they may have been in vogue in former ages, they have taken the liberty to reduce both the antiquity of their ſettlement, and number of their kings, to the true ſtandard of the beſt vouchers that they could find.

III. *THE debates about the antiquity of the ſettlement and monarchy of the* Scots, *as they are accounted for in our modern writers, and the ſeveral pieces publiſhed within the laſt age, for and againſt them, by learned writers of our own country on the one ſide, and on the other by thoſe of* England *and* Ireland, *gave me the firſt thoughts of enquiring into the bottom of this controverſy, in order to find out the truth,*

truth, or at leaſt what was moſt conformable to it; and, after reading with all the attention I could, and with all the impartiality that it is poſſible to have in what one's country is concerned in, what had been written on both ſides; and, after examining with no leſs application all that I could meet with in ancient writers or monuments, printed or MS. relating to the ſubject; the reſult of all was the firſt rude draught of this eſſay.

THUS the ſubſtance of it was drawn up ſeveral years ago; and tho' I was then no leſs convinced, than I am at preſent, of the truth of it, eſpecially as to the ſtory of the firſt forty kings before Fergus *ſon of* Erch, *as accounted for by* Hector Boece; *yet an apprehenſion to be thought ſingular or preſumptuous, and an averſion to be the firſt that ſhould not only depart from, but contradict the common opinion of my countrymen in a matter which had been eſteemed honourable to our country; theſe conſiderations, I acknowledge, made me at firſt reſolve to ſuppreſs, at leaſt during my own time, this eſſay, and leave to others the* *invidious task of reforming our vulgar hiſtorians.*

IV. *BUT being afterwards prevailed upon to ſearch into, and to endeavour to give ſome account of the beginning and progreſs of the doctrine and diſcipline of the chriſtian church in our northern parts of the iſland; and it appearing impoſſible to give any diſtinct account of the religious hiſtory of any country, without that the civil ſtate of it, and that of its inhabitants, were firſt well underſtood; for theſe reaſons, and being otherways ſatisfied that nothing ſolid or laſting could be built upon the ſchemes of our civil hiſtory and antiquities, ſuch as our modern writers, eſpecially* Boece *and* Buchanan, *had left, I found myſelf obliged to reſume the rude draught I had formerly made of this eſſay, as the only ſure foundation on which I could venture any diſtinct or laſting account of the religious part of our hiſtory.*

WHEREFORE, having made a new examination of all contained in it, after retrenching what ſeemed ſuperfluous, and adding new obſervations, I reduced the *whole into the method and order in which it now appears. And being thus reduced into a continued ſeries and diſtinct order, I could not refuſe to ſhew it to ſome few honourable perſons, verſed in the hiſtory of our own, and of other countries, and on whoſe judgment I might depend and confide in. I found them, after they had read and conſidered it, of opinion, that the facts aſſerted in it were ſupported with ſuch proofs, and the whole written with ſuch a regard to the true honour of our country, that it could not fail to be acceptable to the learned among our countrymen, who loved truth, and the real honour of* Scotland; *and therefore, they inſiſted that it ought to be publiſhed by itſelf, without waiting for the eccleſiaſtical part, which was ſcarce begun, and which might be obſtructed by the advanced age of the author, and twenty other accidents, from ever being continued on, or perfected.*

V. *FROM theſe, and ſuch other reaſons, I was at laſt perſuaded to let it appear, rather from my own hand, than from that of any other, being unwilling to have the many faults or miſtakes of my own, that I* *doubt not will be found in it, augmented by thoſe which an editor, not ſo well accuſtomed to the ſtile or matter, beſides errors or miſtakes in the copy, might add to it. I conſented then to let it be publiſhed; but on condition that I ſhould firſt communicate it, and have the opinion of two or three perſons in our own country, of diſtinguiſhed merit and knowledge of its hiſtory and antiquities; and that at the ſame time I might make a new ſearch in the country for ancient hiſtorical monuments, for or againſt the ſyſtem that I had eſtabliſhed, which might give farther light to the whole ſubject. And it was only after having communicated it to thoſe perſons in the country, whom I looked upon as good judges of ſuch a work, and having found them of the ſame opinion as thoſe I had at firſt adviſed with, and after having met with in my ſearches of ancient monuments, new proofs of what I had eſtabliſhed in the eſſay, and nothing of moment oppoſite to it: it was, I ſay, after this that I reſolved at laſt to venture to expoſe it to the impartial judgment of the publick.*

VI. *IN compiling it, I propoſed to myſelf no complete work, but to keep within bounds of the title it bears of an* Eſſay*; but an eſſay upon the moſt ancient and the moſt obſcure part of our hiſtory, ſuch as might be ſo much the more uſeful an help to any that would undertake it, that by a certain courſe of enquiry, and in order to give more light to the ſubject, I have been obliged to follow a method very different from that of thoſe who have hitherto treated it; and to beat out to myſelf, if I may ſay ſo, paths that had not been trodden before. Having thought it more ſecure to direct my courſe by ſuch glimpſes of light, as the more certain monuments of antiquity furniſhed me, then to follow, as ſo many others have done, with ſo little advantage to the credit of our antiquities, the beaten road of our modern writers.*

IF, in this new path, where I had none to go before me, I have ſometimes miſtaken my way, it will be no ſurprize to me; and I ſhall be always ready to accept, with gratitude, the help of any friendly hand that can ſet me right. All I can anſwer for, *is my ſincere endeavours to ſearch impartially after truth, and a fixed reſolution to prefer, upon all occaſions, what I conceived moſt conformable to it, before all prejudices whatſoever.*

VII. *BUT as my reſolution to prefer truth to all prejudices, did not exempt me from the duty and regard I owed to my country, I looked upon it as a part of that duty to endeavour, as far as I was able, to remove thoſe prejudices; and in order to that, to examine into the ſources, whence the new ſchemes of our hiſtory, drawn up by our modern writers, had taken their riſe, and to endeavour, if poſſible, to place the ancient ſtate of our country on a better footing, by ſubſtituting to theſe new ſchemes ſuch accounts of our antiquities as are no leſs honourable to the country; and at the ſame time are more certain, and more conformable to the beſt ancient writers.*

I obſerved that the chief occaſion and ſource of all the miſtakes and errors of theſe later writers, which had chiefly laid them open to the cenſures of the learned in other countries, was that, excepting the Picts *alone,*

alone, whom they could not but acknowledge a diſtinct race of people from the Scots *that came in from* Ireland, *theſe writers ſuppoſed in general that all the other ancient inhabitants of* Britain *made a part of theſe* Scots. *So with them the* Brigantes, *the* Meatæ, *the* Caledonii, *the* Horreſti, *&c. were all* Scots; *and in conſequence whatever they found in ancient writers, performed by theſe ancient people, of whatever name, who dwelt within the bounds of what compoſed ſince the kingdom of* Scotland, *was by them attributed to theſe* Scots.

VIII. *WHAT chiefly contributed to lead our writers into theſe miſtakes, was an opinion that had generally gained credit among the* Scots *before their time: that the* Scots *had been ſettled in* Britain *long before the incarnation, and had been in poſſeſſion of all the northern parts of it, excepting what was occupied by the* Picts, *whoſe kingdom was, by theſe writers, reduced into much narrower bounds than it had in reality.*

FROM this it was natural for them to look upon all the other inhabitants of theſe northern countries, as being a part of the

Scots, *under the various names that they bore; and by conſequence, to attribute to the* Scots *all that they found honourably related of them in ancient writers.*

IT was upon the ſame foundation that the fabrick of the remote antiquities of the Scots, *and particularly that of the monarchy, and of the firſt forty or forty-five kings in the* Scotiſh *line, was firſt traced by* John Fordun; *and being left very imperfect by him, was filled up, and brought into a continued hiſtory by* Boece, *upon the memoirs furniſhed him under the names of* Veremund, Campbel, *&c. and the whole reviſed and put into a more taking dreſs, fitted to his purpoſe, and in a noble ſtile of* Latin, *by* Buchanan. *The times, conjunctures of affairs, and diſpoſitions of our people, in which theſe three writers compiled their hiſtories, ſerving to make them meet with a more favourable and a more general reception by our countrymen; as it will appear of each in its proper place.*

BY thoſe means the accounts given by theſe writers, of the ancient ſettlement and *monarchy of the* Scots *in* Britain, *had gained ſuch credit among our countrymen, as contributing to the honour and reputation of the country, and have to that degree overawed thoſe of them who had examined more impartially theſe remote antiquities, that tho' ſome of our later writers have not made difficulty to inſinuate, as occaſion offered, their doubts and difficulties about them, none of our writers hitherto have ventured to publiſh any thing like a critick of them.*

IX. *AND yet what ſerves all this fondneſs for theſe remote antiquities, if they be deſtituted of ſolid grounds and proper vouchers to ſupport them, but to make us paſs in the judgment of the learned of other countries for a credulous people, far from doing any real honour to our country.*

OUR pretenſions to excel other nations in the antiquity of the ſettlement and monarchy of the Scots *in* Britain, *have, long ago, ſtirred up the emulation of the learned in other countries, eſpecially in thoſe of our neighbourhood, to enquire into the* *grounds of them, and to expoſe the uncertain, or even fabulous foundations on which moſt of them are built. And we live in an age in which all ancient accounts of hiſtory, however confidently delivered in the fineſt dreſs by modern writers, are brought back to a tryal; and whatever vogue they may have had for an age or two, are allowed by the beſt judges of theſe kind of performances, no more credit than what is due to their vouchers.*

BESIDES the little ground there is of the ſtory of the firſt forty kings before Fergus *ſon of* Erch, *there are other reaſons which will appear in their proper place, that prove that the account of the ſucceſſion, lives, actions, and exits of theſe kings, as they are ſet down by* Boece *and* Buchanan *(for* John Fordun *could find nothing of theſe details) far from doing any real honour to our country, or contributing, as all hiſtorical accounts ought to do, to the benefit of poſterity, and to the mutual happineſs of king and people, do rather bring a reproach upon the country, and furniſh a handle to turbulent ſpirits, to* *diſturb the quiet and peace, and, by conſequence, the happineſs of the inhabitants.*

HOW far this is the caſe of the ſtory of the firſt forty kings, particularly as it is delivered by Boece *and* Buchanan, *will appear in the ſecond book of this eſſay. At leaſt the matter is of that concern, that no man that loves the honour and happineſs of his country, will, I hope, be diſſatisfied to have it brought to a trial.*

X. *OUR part of the iſland having been in ancient times inhabited by five diſtinct people;* *the* Britains, *the* Caledonians *or* Picts, *the* Romans, *the* Scots, *and the* Saxons, *my intention, in the firſt book, was, after a ſhort account of the* Romans *in the iſland, to treat a part of the two moſt ancient inhabitants of our northern parts, the* Britains *called* Meats, *and the* Caledonians; *and to ſhew that, as on the one hand there is no ground in ancient writers to believe they were of the race of the* Scots, *or made a part of them, as our modern hiſtorians pretend; ſo, on the other, the remains of theſe two ancient people, the firſt known inhabitants of what compoſes the kingdom of* Scotland, *having been at laſt by degrees incorporated with the reſt of its inhabitants into one body of people with the* Scots, *and their poſſeſſions into one kingdom of* Scotland, *the preſent inhabitants, throughout all the provinces, where that ancient people formerly dwelt; may claim by as juſt a title for their country-men, thoſe of that ancient people, who were famous in former ages, either for the ſanctity of their lives, or for their martial valour, as if theſe great men had been deſcended of the* Scots. *They may alſo reckon down from them the antiquity of their firſt ſettlement, and from the firſt of their kings, I mean of the* Caledonians *or* Picts, *the antiquity of the monarchy, as well as from that of the* Scots (*a*).

HENCE follows, that the preſent inhabitants of Scotland, *independently of the new ſchemes of the antiquity of the ſettlement and monarchy of the* Scots, *drawn up by our modern writers, may lay claim to as ancient a ſettlement and monarchy, as any people of the iſlands of* Britain *or* Ireland; *and by conſequence may be very indifferent a-*

(*a*) V. pag. 41. & 165. infra.

bout the time of the firſt ſettlement in Britain *of theſe* Scots *that came from* Ireland, *and about the antiquity of the monarchy in the* Scotiſh *line* (*a*).

AND it ought alſo to be obſerved, that as to the antiquity of the monarchy even in this Scottiſh *line, as I have accounted for it from the ſureſt and moſt ancient hiſtorical monuments that I could meet with; and beginning this monarchy only at K.* Fergus *ſon of* Erch, *from this king till K.* James VI. *the laſt of our kings that reſided in* Scotland, *and the firſt of* Great Britain, *we have ſixty-three kings, hereditarily ſucceeding one to another, in a lineal deſcent of thirty-ſeven degrees, during the ſpace of eleven hundred years, which is a greater antiquity than any hereditary monarchy of* Europe, *of one uninterrupted race can pretend to.*

XI. *WHAT concerns the* Meats *and* Caledonians *or* Picts, *is treated at length in the firſt book of this eſſay: and as on the one hand it was neceſſary to give an ac-*

(*a*) V. pag. 174, 175, &c. infra.

count of each of theſe ancient inhabitants of our northern parts ; ſo, I hope, it will on the other equally ſerve to prepare the judicious and impartial readers among our country-men to enter with more indifference and impartiality into the examination of the hiſtorical ſchemes of our modern writers contained chiefly in the ſecond book.

AND therefore my firſt intention was to have given what is contained in this eſſay ſeparately in three diſtinct diſſertations one after another, which might each prepare the reader to the following. And thus to have given in the firſt diſſertation all that is contained here in the firſt book ; in the ſecond, all that is contained under the title of the firſt ſection of the ſecond book ; and in the third diſſertation, what is contained in the ſecond ſection of the ſecond book, but which ought to have been entitled the third book. However, I was afterwards adviſed to give the whole eſſay at once ; which being read in the order it is here placed, may have the ſame effect, each part ſerving for a preparation and introduction to the following one.

AND this was one of the motives of my following this order in treating of the ancient inhabitants. Another more natural motive was, to conform myſelf to the order of the time of their firſt ſettlement in the iſland; or of the firſt mention that is made of them in ancient writers. Firſt, the Britains; *the* Caledonians *or* Picts *in the ſecond place; in the third, the* Romans; *the* Scots *in the fourth, and laſt of all, the* Saxons.

I have begun with the Romans, *that being neceſſary to give light to the reſt. But the tranſactions of the* Romans *in this iſland in general, having been already treated by ſo many writers after* Camden; *their walls being deſcribed with great exactitude, by the late learned Dr.* Smith *in his edition of* Bede's *hiſtory; and all the remains of the* Romans *in our northern parts of the iſland, having been of late carefully ſurveyed, and accurately deſcribed and illuſtrated with copper plates, by our countryman Mr.* Gordon *in his* Itinerarium Septentrionale, *I found it would be uſeleſs to add, or to alter any thing in the ſhort account I had*

had drawn up, ſome years ago, of the Romans; *eſpecially finding that the account I had given of the ſituation of the* Roman *walls, which was the chief thing I had uſe for, was in the main conformable to that of theſe learned gentlemen.*

XII. *A third reaſon that determined me to this order was, that the view I had in this eſſay being to endeavour to make a ſolid foundation for what may be gleaned from ancient writers, or for what remains there are, after all the diſaſters befallen eccleſiaſtical monuments in* Scotland, *in order to give ſome account of the firſt entry, and of the progreſs of the doctrine and diſcipline of chriſtianity in our northern parts of this iſland; nothing ſeemed more natural in this view, than the order I have followed in treating of theſe ſeveral ancient inhabitants, among whom it appears, by the ſituation of the affairs of that part of the iſland, or rather by a particular diſpoſition of divine providence, that the ſpreading of the light of the goſpel followed the order of the firſt ſettlement of the inhabitants.*

THE ſun of righteouſneſs began very early to ſhine from abroad in the Roman *part of the iſland; and from thence the beams of that heavenly light were derived, by degrees, northward to the* Midland Britains *or* Meats, *in the intervals that they were ſubjected to the empire, or included in it; as they were from the building of* Antoninus'*s wall,* A.D. 138, *betwixt the* Friths: *which opening a free commerce with the ſouthmoſt parts of the iſland, gave a favourable occaſion of the goſpel's penetrating to the more northern. Hence we may obſerve, by the famous paſſage of* Tertullian (*a*), *writing about* A. D. 209. *that there were already believers in Chriſt even in thoſe parts of the iſland which the* Romans *had not ſubdued. The violent perſecution of* Diocleſian *in the end of the third, but chiefly in the firſt years of the fourth century, obliging many chriſtians to fly for refuge to deſarts and uninhabited places, to be out of the reach of the perſecutors, could not fail of increaſing the number of chriſti-*

(*a*) Britannorum inacceſſa Romanis loca, Chriſto vero ſubdita. *Tertullian. contra Judæos, cap.* 7.

ans in the northern parts of the iſland, without the bounds of the empire.

AFTER the middle of this fourth age, A. D. 369, *the territories of the* Meats *or* Midland Britains *betwixt the walls, were erected in a* Roman *province by the general* Theodoſius, *under the name of* Valentia; *and as this opened a more free communication with the provinces of the empire in* Britain, *ſo it appears, that before the end of the fourth age, the chriſtian religion was ſpread from one end of this new province to the other. St.* Ninian *was born of chriſtian parents, in what was afterwards called* Galloway, *in the one extremity of it ; and in the other, near* Dunbarton, *St.* Patrick *was alſo born of chriſtian parents, and in a place peopled by chriſtians, and theſe two biſhops became by themſelves, and by their diſciples, the firſt apoſtles of the* Picts *and* Scots, *both in* Ireland *and* Britain.

BESIDES what converſions St. Palladius *might have made among the* Picts *and* Scots, *on his retreat from* Ireland *to the northern parts of* Britain, Fergus *Son of* Erch, *firſt King of the* Scots, *brought o-*

ver with him a new addition to the number of chriſtians, and we have a proof of the zeal for religion of theſe firſt kings of Scots, *by the reception King* Conal, *great grand-ſon to* Fergus *made to St.* Columba, *upon his arrival into* Albany, *to convert the northern* Picts.

THE laſt people, to wit, the Saxons *of the north (ſome of whom had a ſettlement in our northern parts) were alſo converted the laſt of all by the biſhop* Aydan, *his ſucceſſors, and diſciples, all of them ſent in from* Scotland *in the ſeventh age. And thus we ſee theſe four ancient inhabitants of the northern parts of* Britain, *were converted to chriſtianity in the ſame order that they ſettled at firſt in theſe parts.*

XIII. *I had thoughts of making in this preface a review, or remarks upon ſeveral places of this eſſay. But not to retard the printer who waits for what remains of it, I ſhall content myſelf at preſent to make here the following obſervations. One is upon what is ſaid, pag. 264. where I expreſs ſome doubt, whether our kings in ancient times had any oath adminiſtered to them*

them at their coronation. What gave occaſion to my doubting of it, was, that I had not obſerved any account of it any where; and particularly, that in the exact edition, that Mr. Hearne *hath given us of* Fordun'*s hiſtory, and of its continuation, in which laſt the ſolemnity of the coronation of King* Alexander III. *is deſcribed at length, there is no mention in it of any oath adminiſtered to him. But ſince that part of the eſſay was printed, I have found the ceremony of that coronation ſet down at more length by one of* Fordun'*s continuators in the large* Scotichronicon, *or Book of* Paſly *in the king's library at* London; *and among other additions to* Fordun'*s continuation I found theſe words:* (*a*) David epiſcopo S. Andreæ ipſum regem coram magnatibus terra baltheo militari præcingente, & jura & vota quæ ad regem ſpectant prius Latinè poſtea Gallicè (*b*) exponente, rex omnia benigne concedens & attemptans (*c*) a dicto epiſcopo Benedictionem & coronationem lubens ſubiit

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(*a*) Scotichron Paſlat. lib. 10. cap. 1.

(*b*) Whether by the Word *Gallice* is meant *Galick* or *French* I am in doubt, but it would appear, that the king, being then very young, underſtood only his native language.

(*c*) F. acceptans.

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& admiſit. *And I ſuppoſe the ſame account will be found in the other large* Scotichronicons.

XIV. *ANOTHER remark is upon what is ſaid, pag.* 552. *of the deſtruction of our hiſtorical monuments by king* Edward I. of England, *to which I alſo join the carrying off our records. Upon which, an* Engliſh *gentleman of diſtinction, and of great knowledge in hiſtory and antiquities, made me obſerve, that in mentioning king* Edward*'s carrying off our records during the debate of the competitors, I ought alſo in juſtice to have mentioned his ordering theſe records to be reſtored to* John Baliol, *upon his being declared king.*

I ought indeed, in the firſt place, I acknowledge, to have diſtinguiſhed more clearly betwixt the loſs we ſuſtained in king Edward I'*s time of ancient hiſtories, or hiſtorical monuments, and his carrying off our records. As to hiſtorical monuments, beſides the general complaint that our writers make againſt king* Edward*'s carrying off or deſtroying them, I gave a more ancient and more particular account of the da-*

mage that our hiſtory ſuffered from him, taken from the preface of the chronicle of Couper (*a*), *which had not as yet been publiſhed. And after all, I ſuppoſed, and I do ſo ſtill, that if our ancient churches and convents, with their libraries, had eſcaped the zeal of the reformation, there would have ſtill been found good remains of our ancient hiſtory, tho' much neglected, from the time that* Fordun's *was publiſhed, as being very different from his new ſcheme.*

XV. *AS to our publick records, I ought indeed to have been more clear in what happened to them in king* Edward's *reign, and to have diſtinguiſhed more preciſely the times. Firſt, when that king came,* A. D. 1291, *as an amicable arbitrator of the debates among the competitors; and in that quality the publick records were, I ſuppoſe, depoſited in his hands, or in thoſe of commiſſioners appointed by him, to be reſtored to whomſoever among the competitors ſhould be declared king. I do alſo ſuppoſe that, as it is contained in a writ publiſhed by M.* Rymer, *they were effectually delivered to*

(*a*) Infra, p. 205.

king John; *tho' I muſt acknowledge, that I have ſome doubt whether king* Edward *having, during the confuſions of a divided and headleſs nation, gotten himſelf declared ſuperior lord of* Scotland, *would be ſo very ſcrupulous as to reſtore back thoſe very ſpecial records by which that ſuperiority had been renounced by his predeceſſors, and* Scotland *acknowledged as an independent kingdom; ſuch as the charter of releaſe granted by king* Richard I. *to king* William. *Since it ſtill remains in* England, *and was very candidly publiſhed by M.* Rymer *from the original. However, I would be ſorry to affirm as certain, that king* Edward *kept up any of our records the firſt time they were in his hands.*

BUT they fell back again a ſecond time into his hands in a very different manner; for, A.D. 1295, *king* John, *wearied with king* Edward*'s provocations, with the reproaches of his ſubjects, and probably of his own conſcience, having renewed the league with* Philip *king of* France, *and having the following year renounced his homage to king* Edward, *this king came down a ſecond time in a hoſtile manner againſt the* Scots, *who*

who being ſtill divided among themſelves (Robert the Bruce, *with his party, refuſing to acknowledge king* John) *king* Edward *became in a ſhort time maſter of all the ſtrong places of the kingdom, and of king* John *himſelf, whom he ſent priſoner to* England; *and then it was, that intending to ruin entirely the monarchy, and aboliſh the regal dignity among the* Scots, *the better to ſecure his title of ſuperior lord over them, he carried off not only the publick records, but the* Regalia, *and even the famous ſtone chair on which our kings uſed to be crowned (a). And of any reſtoration made of what was carried off at this time, we have no account; for what was ſent back to* Scotland *at the reſtoration of king* Charles II. *was, I ſuppoſe, what* Cromwell *carried off, and even much of that periſhed in coming back; and I cannot hinder myſelf from adding, that it were to be wiſhed, for the honour of the kingdom, and for the intereſt of its noble families, that greater care had been, or at leaſt were in times coming, taken by the publick, as it is done here in* England, *for the preſervation of the*

(a) V. Matth. Weſtmonaſter. & Walſingham.

few remains we have ſtill left of ancient records.

XVI. *BUT to return to king* Edward's *reign, which, if it had laſted much longer, it appears too well, by his behaviour in his laſt moments, that he intended to make the ſame ravage in* Scotland *that he had made in* Wales. *The brave king* Robert the Bruce *retrieved the ſinking ſtate of the kingdom; and having,* A. D. 1314, *quite routed king* Edward II. *with his numerous army, in the famous battle at* Banockburn, *he continued ſeveral years after to harraſs* England, *notwithſtanding the interpoſition of the pope and his legates, till he at laſt forced king* Edward III, *in a parliament at* York, *A.D.* 1328, *to renounce ſolemnly, by a writ under his great ſeal, with conſent of parliament, all title, right and pretenſion to any ſuperiority over the kingdom of* Scotland, *and to declare null, and of no force, all paſt acts, writs and conventions to the contrary; as the ſame is contained more at large in the original duplicate of the writs or charters of that renunciation, which the three eſtates of* Scotland *in parliament aſſembled at* Perth *in* March 1415 *cauſed,* *for greater precaution, and leſt the originals might be loſt, to be tranſcribed in a publick and authentick form of inſtrument, and duplicates of it to be depoſited in the archives of the chief churches. Of all which, there remains only the original duplicate, which was depoſited in the archives of the metropolitan church of* Glaſgo, *which was ſaved, with other ancient records of that church, by the archbiſhop* James Beaton, *from periſhing in the general conflagration (a) of all the records or archives of all cathedral churches over the kingdom. And this inſtrument or duplicate, containing an authentick monument of the liberty and independency of the crown and kingdom of* Scotland, *and being the only full copy, that I know of, that now remains, I ſhall give it in the appendix,* Num. VIII. *copied verbatim from the original inſtrument. The copy of king* Edward'*s renunciation, given by M.* Anderſon, *tho' the beſt that he could find in* Scotland, *beſides other alterations, cutting off, with an* &c. *at the end, both the date and one of the principal clauſes of king* Edward'*s charter of renunciation, to wit, the*

(a) V. p. 570, &c. infra.

words, Per ipſum regem & conſilium in parliamento.

XVII. *IT was among the remains of the records of the ſame church of* Glaſgo, *which are ſtill carefully preſerved, that the* Charta authentica Roberti Seneſchalli Scotiæ, *was found, and being examined,* A. D. 1694, *in a ſolemn aſſembly of the beſt antiquaries of* France, *was publiſhed the year following, with notes to vindicate the legitimacy of king* Robert III. *which ſmall piece having awaked the attention of the learned, hath been ſince followed by many other larger diſſertations, with ample collections of writs and charters to the ſame purport.*

FROM this we may obſerve, that in the archives of our cathedral churches, and of our great abbeys, were depoſited not only the records, charters, bulls and writs of the churches, the collections of canons, the particular hiſtories of theſe churches, with the ſucceſſion of prelates and the regiſters, containing authentick accounts of all eccleſiaſtical tranſactions, and ſuch other ancient monuments, which, according to the zeal of the reformers, were condemned to the *fire, as remains of popery; but there were alſo depoſited in the ſame archives, as in ſacred azyles (which in former times were held inviolable) many other ancient records, charters and writs, containing the proofs of the rights and independency of the kingdom, and many original writs proper to illuſtrate and give light into its hiſtory. Many of which, without diſtinction, periſhed generally with the reſt.*

XVIII. *AMONG other matters treated of in this eſſay* (*a*), *it was not poſſible to examine* Buchanan's *hiſtory, without ſpeaking of queen* Mary, *whoſe cauſe gave riſe to* Buchanan's *libel,* De jure Regni, *whereof his hiſtory is chiefly deſigned, as will appear in its proper place, to ſerve for a proof.*

WITHOUT this neceſſary connexion, that the cauſe of this princeſs hath with Buchanan's *hiſtorical writings and principles, I certainly had not in a work concerning the antiquities of our country touched upon a ſubject ſo modern, and ſo embroiled*

(*a*) Infra, pag. 314, &c.

by the contradictory accounts of ſo many writers, friends and enemies, according to their different affections and intereſts. But being obliged to ſay ſomething of it, and that too in a very great hurry to keep pace with the preſs, I thought I could not do better than to take my accounts of it from the relation given of it by a man of the probity, integrity and reputation of Camden, *and ſo well informed of all that concerned it.*

I am not afraid, that impartial men will find fault with my relying upon queen Elizabeth*'s hiſtorian for an account of queen* Mary*'s cauſe. He had ſeen all the papers, letters, acts and relations in the* Cotton Library, *and in the paper-office that concerned queen* Mary, *and more than perhaps now remain. But he had candor and equity, that preſerved him from being biaſſed, and judgment to diſcern what might be relied upon among the great number of pieces that concerned queen* Mary*'s cauſe; he converſed with the perſons that were at the helm, and at the bottom of affairs when her cauſe was in agitation; and with many that were eye and ear-witneſſes of what concerned her, both in* England, *and in*

Scotland, *and ſaw into the bottom of the intrigues and contrivances of theſe times againſt that princeſs.*

AND as on the one hand he knew, that the whole drift of ſome of the principal counſellors about queen Elizabeth, *was to find accuſations to blacken queen* Mary, *and by endeavouring to blaſt her reputation, and render her infamous and odious, to leſſen or take away the influence and credit ſhe had even with great numbers in* England, *as well as abroad.*

SO on the other hand, Camden *knew what judgment to make of the accuſations brought againſt queen* Mary *from* Scotland, *particularly of the depoſitions of criminals, who upon the rack, put in hopes to ſave their lives by ſo doing, or at leaſt to obtain a ceſſation of the torture, ſaid all that was ſuggeſted to them, and retracted all again upon the ſcaffold, when they were ready to appear before a higher tribunal; and he was too wiſe to value the acts drawn up againſt the queen, by officers of juſtice depending on* Murray, Morton, *&c. directed by their influence, and all of them* *declared enemies to the queen; and who, after the length they were gone, risked both their lives and fortunes if they did not make her guilty.*

ALL this being of Camden*'s knowledge, was it neceſſary, that in order to be thought* an impartial writer, *he ſhould ſuppreſs what he found made for queen* Mary*'s juſtication, and publiſh anew* Buchanan*'s infamous libel againſt her, and all he could ſcrape together of the productions of her enemies to ſupport it, that by thoſe means he might have the pleaſure to rake into the aſhes of the mother of his ſoveraign, and to diſturb in her grave, as much as he was able, the reſt of a princeſs, who could find none during her life.*

WHEN the impreſſion of this preface was thus far advanced, there came to my hands two printed letters from Mr. Buckley *to Dr.* Mead, *the laſt of which contains ſome things concerning* Camden*'s annals of queen* Elizabeth, *which I had not heard of till now, otherwiſe in the account of queen* Mary*'s cauſe, which the connexion it hath with* Buchanan*'s hiſtory, obliged me to treat* *of in the eſſay; I could have added to the authority of* Camden's *annals, new proofs, if I had been at more leiſure. However, as to his ſecond letter to Dr.* Mead, *I obſerve indeed, by* Camden's *letter of* Aug. 10. 1612. *that he was ordered to put the firſt part of his annals in Sir* Rob. Cotton's *hands, to be communicated to king* James; *but it does not appear either by that letter, or by any other of* Camden's *to* Thuanus, *that any material alterations were made in them. And is it likely that* Camden *in his private letters to* Thuanus, *in which he ſpeaks with great freedom and concern of king* James *his giving ſuddenly a warrant for printing his annals, would not have alſo complained to his friend* Thuanus, *that alterations had been made in them, had there any ſuch been actually made? Or that he would not have put* Thuanus *on his guard, they being ſent him to ſerve for vouchers of his hiſtory, as to* Britiſh *affairs. Beſides this, it appears by another private letter of* Camden *to* Thuanus (16 April 1605) *ſeven years before king* James *ſaw that firſt part of his annals, that* Camden's *genuine ſentiments concerning* Murray's *character, and* Buchanan's *libels againſt queen*

Mary, *were at that time much the ſame as we find them in his annals.*

THAT king James *highly reſented, that a magiſtrate of the reputation of* Thuanus *had let himſelf be miſled by the impudence with which* Buchanan *had publiſhed, in a polite ſtile, the moſt falſe and malicious calumnies againſt the queen his mother, was very natural. No man alive was better informed than this king hinſelf, of the truth of what paſſed in theſe times, nor of the crying injuſtice and inhumanity exerciſed by the conſpirators againſt the queen his mother; and what, no doubt, irritated him chiefly againſt* Murray, *was that this uſurper and his faction, made uſe in their pretended parliament, in* Dec. 1567, *of king* James's *name (at that time a child not eighteen months old) to condemn and depoſe the queen his mother their ſoveraign, and that without allowing her the liberty to defend herſelf, either in perſon or by proxy, as ſhe moſt earneſtly intreated.*

THIS being, and the king her ſon perfectly convinced of the queen's innocence, and of the ambitious deſigns, calumnies and *malice of her accuſers, if he employed men of ſuch known worth and integrity as Sir* Robert Cotton, Camden *and* Caſaubon *to engage* Thuanus *to rectify what he had written of queen* Mary *upon falſe information, it was a duty and juſtice that the king owed to her majeſty's memory. And when one conſiders, that on the one hand the moſt cunning heads, the bittereſt tongues, the moſt popular declaimers, and the moſt refined pens in* Scotland, *were by their different intereſts and animoſities, combined, eſpecially whilſt the diſtreſſed queen was cloſe priſoner, to contrive accuſations againſt her, and to render them plauſible; and that on the other, all theſe productions of theſe conſpirators were greedily received, and improved to the utmoſt length by ſome of the beſt heads, and who had at that time the greateſt credit in the council of* England, *is it any ſurpriſe, that writers about thoſe times, ſuch as* Thuanus, *ſhould have been impoſed upon? to ſay nothing here of his prejudices againſt the houſe of* Lorain, *of which queen* Mary *was deſcended. But this is enough, and much more than I firſt intended, upon a ſubject ſo embroiled, and upon which there is extant ſo great abundance of contradictory accounts* *both printed and unprinted, that it is likely her cauſe will continue as yet ſome ages to furniſh matter of writing, for and againſt, according to the different intereſts and affections of men.*

XIX. *ONE of the ſubjects examined in this eſſay, which, next to the diſcuſſion of the remote antiquities of my own country, made me at firſt reſolve not to let it appear in my own time, was the examination contained in it of the remote antiquities of* Ireland. *What led me naturally into that diſcuſſion was, that one of the chief views that I had in the eſſay being to examine, as much as it was poſſible in ſo dark ages, into the epoch of the firſt ſettlement of the* Scots *in* Britain, *and they being, by the conſent of all the learned, unqueſtionably come in at firſt from* Ireland, *it appeared impoſſible to make any fixed judgment of the time of the coming of the* Scots *to* Britain, *without being firſt aſſured of the truth of what the* Iriſh *writers have advanced of the antiquity of the ſettlement of the* Scots *in* Ireland, *and of the long ſucceſſion of their kings down from* Heremon, *above a thouſand years before the incarna-*

tion: in that caſe it ſeemed to me, as I have endeavoured to ſhew (a), that the firſt ſettlement of the Scots *in* Britain *might be with an equal probability placed ſome three or four ages before the incarnation, as our writers have generally fixed it. But if the* Scots *were a foreign people, as* Camden *and other learned men are of opinion they were, and that they came into* Ireland *only about, or even after, the time of the birth of Chriſt; in that caſe the epoch of the ſettlement of the* Scots *in* Britain, *muſt have certainly been as yet later, and on the time of their firſt ſettlement that of the beginning of their monarchy in* Britain *neceſſarily depended.*

THIS being the caſe, the examination of the antiquity of the firſt ſettlement of the Scots *in* Ireland, *and by conſequence that of the grounds of their remote antiquities was unavoidable to one that had all along endeavoured to go, as much as poſſible, to the bottom of each ſubject that he examined. And being once engaged into this diſcuſſion, it led me inſenſibly much farther than I had at firſt intended: this*

(a) Pag. 184, &c. infra.

obliged me, upon the reſolution taken at laſt to publiſh this eſſay, to retrench a part of what concerned theſe remote antiquities, and to endeavour to ſoften the ſtyle and expreſſion of what remains, ſo as it might give no juſt cauſe of offence to any body.

AND I have ground to hope, that the learned, equitable and conſiderate perſons of that kingdom will eaſily obſerve, that all that I have ſaid upon the ſubject, was, to the beſt of my knowledge, intended for the true honour of the Iriſh *nation, and of its hiſtory, by expoſing impartially, as I have done in regard of my own country, what appears advanced without ſufficient ground by the writers of their hiſtory, of what paſſed before* Leogare's *time; and by laying before them the means that appear the moſt proper, towards freeing their country from the reproach of too great credulity, and towards gaining reputation to their country, and credit to their hiſtories, among the learned in foreign countries: that is,* 1. *To make an entire diſtinction, as Sir* James Ware *and other learned men have done, betwixt the dubious or fabulous accounts, left by their bards, of their remote anti-*

antiquities, and the certain hiſtory of what paſſed in Ireland *ſince St.* Patrick *or king* Leogare'*s time.* 2. *To publiſh, as all other poliſhed nations have done, and continue daily to do, the genuine text of their* Latin *chronicles or annals, or a literal verſion of them, when in* Iriſh. *I mean particularly of theſe of* Tigernach, Ulſter, &c. *and ſuch others written in times of light and learning; which might be done on as little expence, and probably meet with more encouragement from the publick, than Dr.* Keating'*s book, publiſhed within theſe few years; which, whether the ſtory it contains of their remote antiquities will ſerve for the true honour of* Ireland, *I refer to the learned, and thoſe that know the true taſte of theſe times.*

IN fine, as to what I have been obliged to ſay of theſe remote antiquities, I have ground to hope that no impartial man, that reads with attention what I have ſaid in this eſſay, of the remote antiquities of my own country, as well as of thoſe of Ireland, *will accuſe me of partiality. I may indeed have fallen into many miſtakes, and doubt not but I have, as to the antiquities of* Ireland, *being a ſtranger; but at leaſt I meant well, and aimed only at truth.*

XX. *IT was chiefly the diſcuſſion of theſe remote antiquities, and of the time of the firſt ſettlement of the* Scots *in* Ireland, *which, together with the abſtracts or remains of our own ancient hiſtory, forced me at laſt, not without great repugnancy, to lay aſide what I had collected with no ſmall pains, in order to ſupport and render at leaſt probable* John Fordun'*s ſyſtem of the antiquity of the ſettlement and of the monarchy of* Scots *in* Britain, *as it will appear in its proper place.*

AS to that of Boece, *beſides the other proofs againſt it, ſet down in their proper place, it might ſuffice, that until the year* 1526, *that his hiſtory was printed, I could hitherto never meet with any piece before that year, either printed or* MS. *containing, I do not ſay the lives and actions of his firſt forty kings, but their genealogy, ſuch as he gives it, no not even their bare names. Nor could I hitherto meet with any man that could ſay that he had ever ſeen either hiſtory or record written before that*

that year 1526, *that contained either the genealogy or the names of the firſt forty kings, ſuch as* Boece *found them in his* Veremund, *&c. As to* Buchanan's *hiſtory of thoſe forty kings, it being a bare abſtract of that of* Boece, *calculated to ſupport the cauſe that he was embarked in, it muſt fall or ſtand with that of* Boece.

XXI. *IT was not poſſible to enter into the diſcuſſion of the hiſtorical facts related by* Boece *from* Veremund, *and by* Buchanan *from* Boece, *without taking notice of the account that they deliver of the pretended judicial proceedings againſt ſo many ancient kings, by their nobles and ſubjects; which hath given occaſion to ſo many foreign writers to brand our nobility, and nation in general, with the reproach of having always been a ſeditious and rebellious people againſt their ſoveraigns, and I conceived that it was a duty I owed to my country, to examine into the bottom of that reproach, and ſhew how little ground there is in all that remains of more certain of our ancient hiſtory, for what the firſt of theſe two modern writers hath out of too great credulity, and the*

the laſt with a formed deſign, and by principle, advanced on that ſubject.

XXII. *THE account which I have given in the laſt chapter of the eſſay of the ſteps and degrees of the growth of our remote antiquities was, beſides the giving light to the ſubject, deſigned, not ſo much for a critick of* Fordun, Winton, &c. *as for an apology. And indeed if we conſider the credit, that the opinion of the* Scots *having been ſettled both in* Ireland *and* Britain *long before the incarnation (which was the ſource of all theſe remote antiquities) had obtained before their times; if we reflect upon the times, circumſtances, prevailing opinions of the nation, when thoſe writers lived, we will be eaſily perſuaded, that they could not well write, but as they did; and if we had lived and written on the ſubject in their times and circumſtances, we ſhould probably have been equally influenced with the common traditions of the times, and written accordingly. They wanted innumerable helps that we have; and the general practice of all other nations in thoſe times, was no leſs an encouragement to them to raiſe to the greateſt height*

height they poſſibly could, the antiquity of the ſettlement, and of the monarchy of the Scots, *than in our times the common practice of all the more learned and poliſhed nations, in allowing their remote antiquities to be reduced to the juſt ſtandard of truth, ought equally to encourage both the* Iriſh *and* Scots, *in order to avoid the reproach of groundleſs credulity, to employ the learned of their country in the ſame ſervice, to ſupport its reputation among foreign nations.*

XXIII. *NOW as to this ſmall performance of mine, the favour, or if I may ſpeak ſo, the juſtice, that I have to beg of my own countrymen is,* 1. *That before they judge of it, or cenſure it, they would be at the trouble to read it all over in the order that I here give it. I have endeavoured to connect it from the beginning to the end into a continued ſeries; and therefore no fixt judgment can be made of one part of it ſeparately without relation to the reſt.* 2. *That they would conſider whether, ſuppoſing the reaſons and authorities which I have given, it was poſſible for me to make any other judgment than I have*

have done of the ſyſtems of our antiquities drawn up by Boece, Buchanan, *or even by* Fordun; *and, ſuppoſing theſe ſyſtems were not ſuſtainable, whether I could with ſo lame accounts as we have of thoſe times, ſet the ancient ſtate of the inhabitants of our country, on a more certain, at leaſt a more likely, and more honourable footing than I have endeavoured to place it, and that in the firſt book, which I deſignedly premiſed, before I diſcuſſed the ſyſtems of our modern hiſtorians in the ſecond.* 3. *That they would alſo conſider, that what I have ſaid againſt the accounts given of our hiſtory by* Fordun, Boece, Buchanan, &c. *concerns chiefly the remote antiquities of the* Scots, *that is, the accounts they have delivered of the firſt forty or forty-five kings, and the other tranſactions before* Fergus *ſon of* Erch, *and his immediate ſucceſſors till king* Aydan. *For as to the ſucceſſion of our kings from king* Aydan *downwards, and the few particulars of* Scottiſh *affairs of theſe times ſet down by* Fordun, *he being the moſt ancient continued hiſtorian that we have now remaining, he juſtly deſerves a preference to all that came after him, and* *his credulity to the common opinions of his time, concerning the remote antiquities of the* Scots, *ought not to derogate from his authority in his hiſtorical accounts taken from our ancient writers of* Scotiſh *affairs in following ages. The ſame thing I ſay in proportion of the authority of* Boece, Buchanan, *and the reſt of our hiſtorians, in as far as their accounts are conformable to, or, at leaſt, not contradicted by more ancient writers.* 4. *That they would look upon this work, not as a finiſhed piece, but as a ſimple eſſay, in which I have endeavoured to clear up the ancient ſtate of our country, to ſeparate what ſeemed fabulous and groundleſs from what appears more certain, And though I have been ſometimes obliged, for want of vouchers, to make uſe of conjectures (all which I leave to the judgment of the learned readers;) in all the more important occaſions, I have ſet down and quoted my authorities, and thoſe either from authors already publiſhed, or from MSS. to which the acceſs is eaſy, and I have printed in the appendix ſuch ſhort MS. pieces as ſeemed more curious, or more proper to give light to the ſubject, and ſerve for proofs.*

XXIII. *I eaſily foreſee, that in what I have endeavoured to ſettle in the firſt book, there will be found difficulties, that throughout all this ſmall performance, there will be obſerved ſeveral miſtakes. In carrying it on, I have been often reduced to the caſe of one travelling all alone through deſert and uninhabited places, without any beaten paths, or meeting with any perſon, that could give him any certain directions in his journey; ſo if I have ſometimes gone aſtray, it will not ſurpriſe me, eſpecially conſidering the variety of matters treated of in this eſſay.*

XXIV. *IT remains only now, that I beg ſome allowance from the* Engliſh *reader, for the ſtyle and expreſſion. My chief attention was, to make myſelf to be underſtood; and therefore I have all along endeavoured to follow a plain and ſimple ſtyle, without affectation. And though an honourable gentleman of my own country, and another learned* Engliſh *gentleman, were ſo kind as to reviſe the language, and to alter ſuch exotick words, or expreſſions,*

preſſions, as it was natural ſhould drop from me; I doubt not but the Engliſh *reader will ſtill meet in this eſſay, with too many marks of my native language and foreign education.*

ERRATA.

In the PREFACE, Page xii. line 5. *for* of Britain, *read* of the North of Britain.

Page 20. line 24. *for* half *read* part. P. 48. l. 8. *for* nine *r.* eleven. P. 52. l. 1. *for* paſſage *r.* paſſages. Ibid. l. 4. *r.* is in reality. P. 132. l. 4. *for* H. before G. *r.* H. after G. P. 135. in the notes, l. 8. *after* of *Picts add* in *Ireland*. P. 153. l. 6. *add* as we ſhall, *&c.* P. 284. l. 19. *for* at *r.* of. P. 352. l. 14. *for* chances *r.* chance. P. 354. in the note, *for* Crawfield *r.* Crawford. P. 383. l. 25. *for* four books *r.* fourth book. P. 387. in the notes, *for* pag. 261. *r.* 361. P. 479. in the notes, l. ult. *for* c. 3. *r.* l. 3. P. 506. l. 24. *for* Mileſians *r.* Mileſian-Scots. P. 569. in the notes, l. 6. *for* fæcem *r.* facem. P. 621. l. 5. *for* P. John XXIII. *r.* XXII. P. 645. l. penult. *for* ſixth cent. *r.* fourth century. P. 669. l. 1. *for* Careneſs *r.* Cateneſs. P. 690. l. 22. *for* ſixty eight years *r.* eighty ſix. P. 698 and 705. in the notes, *for* 676. *r.* 666. P. 705. in the notes, *for* 1621. *r.* 621. P. 788. in the notes *r.* Maliſuis. P. 789. l. 11. *for* xxxii. *r.* xxxiii. P. 817. l. 19. *dele* SECUNDA PARS.

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A Cri-

A CRITICAL ESSAY ON THE Ancient *Inhabitants* of the *Northern Parts* OF BRITAIN, or SCOTLAND.

The Introduction and Diviſion of this ESSAY.

THE chief deſign of this eſſay on the ancient ſtate of the northern parts of *Britain*, ſo well known by the name of the kingdom of *Scotland*, being to ſerve for a foundation to an hiſtorical account of the firſt planting the goſpel, and of the progreſs of the doctrine and diſcipline of the chriſtian church in thoſe parts of the iſland: no method appear'd to me more proper for giving light and order to the ſubject, than to treat ſeparately of each one of the different people who anciently inhabited thoſe parts.

* WHAT ven. *Bede* ſays of this iſland in general, that in his time the knowledge of the ſublime truths of religion was ſearch'd into and profeſs'd in five languages of as many different nations, was alſo true in *Bede*'s time, even of thoſe nor-

* Bed. Hiſt. lib. 1. cap. 1.

thern parts of the iſland in particular, which compoſe now the kingdom of *Scotland*; where *Britains*, *Picts*, *Scots* and *Saxons* did actually then inhabit; as the *Romans* had done before, and left their language. And as the preſent inhabitants of *Scotland* are in their ſeveral provinces (as I hope it will afterwards appear) the off-ſpring of theſe ſeveral ancient inhabitants: ſo the account of the actions, whether civil or religious, of theſe ancient inhabitants of the north of *Britain* belongs no leſs to the hiſtory of *Scotland*, than that of the *Scots* that came from *Ireland*.

NOR is it ſingular in the preſent inhabitants of *Scotland*, to be thus originally deſcended of ſeveral people: ſince there is not almoſt any kingdom or ſtate in *Europe*, even of the moſt poliſh'd of them, but was originally at leaſt as much a mixture of different nations, whom length of time, the ſame laws and government, and mutual alliances have by degrees cemented into one body of people. What a mixture of different origines in *Italy*, and in *Rome* it ſelf, almoſt of all nations? And how few of them now can prove their deſcent from any ancient *Roman* family? The ſame may be ſaid of *France*; where there is a mixture of ancient *Gauls*, *Romans*, *Francs*, *Goths*, *Burgundians*, and *Normans*, or *Danes*. The ſame thing more or leſs in *Spain*: and in *England*, what a mixture is there of *Saxons*, *Danes*, *Normans*, *Francs* and *Flemings*, beſides the old *Britains* or *Welch*? So 'tis no diſparagement to the preſent inhabitants of *Scotland* to be in this like to other nations, originally deſcended of different people.

IN order therefore to clear the way towards what I mainly aim at in this eſſay, I deſign in the firſt place to treat of each of thoſe ancient inhabitants of *Scotland* apart; to give a ſhort account of their ſettlement in this part of the iſland, of their government and ſeveral revolutions that happen'd among them; as far as I can find light from credible vouchers, till their ceaſing at laſt to bear a particular diſtinct name of their own; partly by decay, or retiring ſome of them elſewhere; partly by being incorporated into one nation and government with the other inhabitants, under the common name of *Scots*; reſerving withal the particular detail of their actions to the ſecond or hiſtorical part of this eſſay.

THIS method of treating ſeparately of each people that anciently inhabited *Scotland* will, beſides other advantages, very much contribute to clear many debates ariſing both in civil and eccleſiaſtical hiſtory from the dubious ſenſe of the words *Scots* and *Scotland*. By which, 1ſt. may be underſtood that people ſo called, their deſcendants and poſſeſſions in *Britain*, who coming originally, as is thought, from *Ireland*, ſettled firſt on the north-weſtern coaſt of what is ſince called *Scotland*, and who in progreſs of time, by alliances or conqueſt, were at laſt by degrees united with all the other northern inhabitants of *Britain*, of whatever origine, under one name of *Scots*, and in one monarchy called *Scotland*. 2°. By theſe words *Scots* and *Scotland* may be meant, by anticipation, all thoſe ſeveral nations, tho' of different origines, their deſcendants and poſſeſſions, who at any time, in the moſt ancient ages, had fixt habitations in thoſe northern parts of *Britain*, afterwards called *Scotland:* whoſe poſterity, for any thing we know, ſtill remains, and makes perhaps at this day the greateſt part of the preſent inhabitants of *Scotland*; who for that reaſon have equal claim to all the great men of whatever origine, who antiently inhabited theſe northern parts of *Britain*, and diſtinguiſhed themſelves, either by their warlike exploits, or by the ſanctity of their lives, as they have to thoſe of the *Scots* that came from *Ireland*.

HOWEVER I ſhall endeavour in this eſſay to avoid, as much as I can, this anticipation in naming the ſeveral antient inhabitants of the northern parts of *Britain*, and ſhall deſign them by the names given them by the antient writers, that give the earlieſt accounts of them: and ſo I ſhall call them by the names of *Britains* or *Mæats*, *Caledonians*, *Picts*, *Scots*, &c. as I ſhall find them deſign'd. But as to the whole country it ſelf, to avoid the frequent repetition of the *northern parts of Britain*, having no other ſingle name to give it, but that of *Scotland*, I ſhall be oblig'd to make uſe of it ſometimes by anticipation. And it ought to ſuffice, that I give here an advertiſement of it, not to be miſtaken, as if I pretended that the whole country was called *Scotland*, before the deſcendants of the *Scots* were fully maſters, and in poſſeſſion of it.

IN the account I intend to give ſeparately of each of theſe people who anciently inhabited *Scotland*, I ſhall begin with the *Romans*; becauſe the hiſtory of theſe northern inhabitants can never be diſtinctly underſtood without having firſt a general view or notion of the ſettlement of the *Romans* in *Britain*, of the diviſion made of it by the *Romans* into provinces, and a more particular and diſtinct account of the ſeveral walls, or fences erected by the *Romans*, to defend the provincials againſt the northern unconquer'd nations.

IN the 2*d* place I ſhall give an account of the midland *Britains*, thoſe I mean, who dwell betwixt the ſouthern and northern walls, from the firſt diſtinct mention we find of them by the name of *Mæats*, and of the ſeveral revolutions happen'd among them, till they partly retired elſewhere, partly became ſubject to, and were united into one people with the *Scots*.

3°. I intend to treat more at length of the once famous people of the *Caledonians*, the ſame called afterwards *Picts*.

4°. I ſhall enter into a full diſcuſſion of all that concerns the *Scots*, and chiefly of the much controverted heads of the antiquity of the ſettlement, and of the monarchy of the *Scots* in *Britain*: and in order to ſettle that controverſy, I ſhall begin by examining the accounts of the firſt forty kings given by *Boece*, *Buchanan* and their followers: and theſe being properly improvements of the ſcheme of the *Scotiſh* antiquities laid by *John Fordun*, I ſhall in the next place examine the grounds of this ſcheme; and from thence proceed to enquire into the antiquity of the ſettlement of the *Scots*, firſt in *Ireland*, and thence into the north weſtern parts of *Britain*; and conclude by endeavouring to fix the preciſe *Æra* of the beginning of the monarchy of the *Scots* in *Britain*.

As to the *Saxons*, who were the fifth people, who had anciently poſſeſſions in *Scotland*, their hiſtory, in as far as it relates to *Scotland*, is naturally intermixt with that of the *Picts* and *Scots*.

I ſhall divide the whole into two books. In the firſt I ſhall give account of the *Romans*, of the *Midland Britains*, and of the *Caledonians* or *Picts*. And in the ſecond I ſhall treat at length of the *Scots*.

BOOK I.

An Account of the Romans, *of the* Midland Britains, *or* Mæats, *and of the* Caledonians, *or* Picts, *in the northern parts of* Britain, *or* Scotland.

CHAP. I.

Of the Romans *in* Britain.

WE have little knowledge of *Britain* before the *Romans* enter'd it: and the ſureſt accounts that we have of its ancient ſtate being from the *Roman* writers, on occaſion of the tranſactions of the *Romans* in the iſland, it ſeems neceſſary to premiſe ſome ſhort account of their ſettlement in *Britain*, of its diviſions by them into provinces, and particularly of the walls and fences which they built on their frontiers, in order to give more light to what we are to treat of the northern parts of the iſland.

ART. I. *Of the ſettlement of the* Romans *in* Britain, *and diviſions of it into provinces.*

JULIUS CÆSAR was the firſt of the *Romans* that attempted the conqueſt of *Britain*, about 55 years before the birth of Chriſt: but he made no ſettlement. The emperor *Claudius* began the conqueſt of it; and after him by degrees the conqueſt of the iſland was carried on in the ſouthern parts, and the conquered *Britains* were civilized and modelled after the form of a *Roman* province. Their conqueſts were advanced to the northern *Friths* by *Julius Agricola* under *Domitian*: but that frontier was quickly loſt; and the emperor *Adrian* was content to ſettle the marches of the empire in *Northumberland.* Under his ſucceſſor *Antoninus* they were carried back to the northern *Friths.*

ALL this time it appears, that the *Roman* conqueſts in *Britain* made but one province. *Ziphilin* from *Dio* gives ground to think that in *Severus*'s time they were divided into two provinces, the ſuperior and the inferior. But 'tis certain that before *Valentinian* I. there were four *Roman* provinces in *Britain*, known by the names of *Britannia prima*, *Britannia ſecunda*, *Flavia Cæſarienſis* and *Maxima Cæſarienſis.* 'Tis thought that *Conſtantin the Great* was author of this diviſion of provinces: and we have an account of it from (*a*) *Rufus Feſtus*, who wrote under *Valentinian* I. In fine, under the ſame *Valentinian* the general *Theodoſius* conquered anew the debateable lands, where the *Midland Britains* or *Mæats* dwelt, betwixt the ſourthern and northern walls, and erec-

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(*a*) Rufi Feſti Breviar.

ted them into a fifth province call'd *Valentia*; and accordingly we find in the (*a*) *Notitia Imperii*, under *Honorius*'s reign, theſe five provinces in *Britain* under their proper magiſtrates; and they remain'd much in the ſame ſtate till the *Romans* abandon'd the iſland.

BUT the moſt general diviſion of the *Britains* in the *Roman* times, was into provincials and extra-provincials. The firſt were thoſe of the ſouth, who became ſubjects to the *Roman* empire, were govern'd by its laws, reduc'd into provinces, and civiliz'd according to the form of the *Roman* polity and manners. The extra-provincials were thoſe of the north, who never ſubmitted to the *Roman* yoke, but preſerv'd their liberty, and continued to live according to their own ancient cuſtoms, and were therefore call'd barbarous by the *Romans*. Theſe were particularly the inhabitants of *Caledonia*, on the north ſide of the *Friths* of *Clyde* and *Forth*.

THERE was a third ſort of *Britains* that dwelt between theſe two, and inhabited the countries betwixt the ſouthern wall in *Northumberland*, and the northern at the *Friths*. Theſe were ſometimes at liberty, ſometimes ſubject to the *Romans*, and other times over-run by the northern inhabitants of *Britain*, according as the *Romans* were

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(*a*) Notit. Rom. Imper. Edit. Labbe, Pariſ. 1651. pag. 62.

ſtrong in the iſland, and as the limits of the empire were advanced to the northern wall, or confined to the ſouthern: and therefore I ſhall call theſe countries, betwixt the walls, the *Debateable Lands*, and the people *Midland Britains*. They are call'd by *Ziphilin*, from *Dio*, by the general name of *Mæatæ*, and contain'd ſeveral leſſer people within them: ſuch as the *Ottadini*, *Selgovæ*, *Novantes*, *Damnii*, *Gadeni*, &c. About the year 368, they were, as we obſerv'd already, by the general *Theodoſius* under *Valentinian* I. reduced into a *Roman* province, by the name of *Valentia*.

'Tis of ſome importance to remark this general diviſion of the *Britains* into three parts, to wit, the Provincials, the *Mæatæ* or *Midland Britains*, and the *Caledonians* or *Britains* of the north, called afterwards *Picts*: becauſe it will ſerve to give greater light to what will be afterwards ſaid at large of theſe two laſt people, who were the firſt known inhabitants of what is ſince called *Scotland*.

ART. II. *Of the* Roman *walls in* Britain.

AS to the walls, *fences*, or *barriers*, by which the *Romans* uſed to ſecure the frontiers of their conqueſts in *Britain* againſt the northern nations, their ſituation altered frequently, as the *Romans* were ſtrong in *Britain* and able to maintain or advance their frontiers; and there is a great debate among modern writers about the ſituation of ſome of theſe walls; tho' generally all, or almoſt all agree, that all theſe fences and walls were built in one or other of theſe two places, either betwixt *Tine* and *Carliſle* on *Eden*, or betwixt *Clyde* and *Forth*.

WE have an account of their having been ſettled, built or repaired eight or nine different times. 1°. By *Julius Agricola*. 2°. By the emperor *Adrian*. 3°. Under the emperor *Antoninus*. 4°. By the emperor *Severus*. 5°. By *Carauſius*, as is reported by the interpolator of *Nennius*. 6°. By the general *Theodoſius*. 7°. By orders of *Stilicho*. 8°. Under *Honorius* by the *Britains*. 9°. By *Gallio*. Of each one of which we ſhall give a ſhort account.

I. *JULIUS AGRICOLA* was the firſt of the *Romans* that carried on their conqueſts to *Caledonia*: and there's no diſpute about the place which he fortified, intending to fix the marches. (*a*) *Tacitus* his ſon-in-law gives us an account from *Agricola*'s own relation, that finding the narrow neck of ground betwixt the *Friths* of *Clyde* and *Forth* a proper place to fix the barriers of the empire, he fortified it with fences; ſo that the countries, to the ſouth of the *Friths*, were to remain ſubject to the *Romans*; and the inhabitants of *Caledonia*, to the north of them, were by this

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(*a*) Tacitus vita Agricolæ, n. 23.

barrier ſeparated as in another iſland from his new Conqueſts: this was *A. D.* 81.

II. But this frontier was ſoon loſt, and the emperor *Adrian*, A. D. 121, having reſolved to build a wall about forty years after *Agricola*, to ſecure the provincials from the unconquer'd nations of the north, thought fit to abandon all the midland countries from *Northumberland* to *Caledonia*; and was contented to fix the frontiers eighty miles farther ſouth, than *Agricola* had placed them, and ſo built his wall betwixt *Newcaſtle on Tine* and *Carliſle* on *Eden*, as appears by the dimenſions given, of its being eighty miles in length, by (*a*) *Spartian*; and beſides, as *Cambden*, and others remark, by the remains of *Adrian* in the names of places in theſe parts: nor is the ſituation of this wall much controverted.

III. (*b*) The next wall was built, *A. D.* 138, by *Lollius Urbicus*, under the emperor *Antoninus*. It was built of turf, but fortified, no doubt, from place to place with caſtles, or ſtone work. That this wall was ſeated betwixt *Clyde* and *Forth*, where *Agricola* had firſt placed his barrier, ſeems clear,

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(*a*) Britanniam petiit, in qua multa correxit, murumque per octoginta millia paſſuum primus duxit, qui Barbaros Romanoſque divideret. *Spartian in Adrian.*

(*b*) [Antoninus] Britannos per Lollium Urbicum Legatum vicit, alio muro ceſpititio ſubmotis Barbaris ducto. *Jul. Capitolin. in Antonin.*

as well from ſeveral inſcriptions of *Antoninus* and *Lollius Urbicus*, found in thoſe places, as from the expreſſions of *Capitolinus*, from whom we have the account of this wall; who tells us that *Lollius* built it, after forcing the barbarous nations to give ground: ſo that the frontiers being thus carried back to the *Friths*, the debateable lands betwixt the two walls were a-new join'd to the empire.

IV. THE fourth wall was built by the emperor *Severus*, A. D. 210, after he had forced back the *Midlanders* or *Mæats*, and the *Caledonians*, who had invaded or over-run ſeveral provinces of the empire. *Dio* and *Herodian* give us, on this occaſion, a more diſtinct account of thoſe two northern nations than we had hitherto met with: but of that in its proper place. I ſhall only remark here, that *Dio* (*a*) ſeems to include all the nations betwixt the walls, under the name of *Mæatæ*, by placing them next to the wall, and after them the *Caledonians*, whoſe ancient poſſeſſions were bounded by the northern *Friths*: whence follows, as we obſerv'd elſewhere, that the poſſeſſions of the *Mæatæ* were the debateable lands betwixt the walls, ſo often over-run alternatively by the *Romans* and northern nations.

TO return now to *Severus*'s wall: there is much debate among modern writers about the place

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(*a*) Dio. pag. 866.

place where this wall was ſituated. The moſt general opinion is, that it ſtood in *Northumberland*, betwixt *Tine* and *Carliſle*, where *Adrian* had formerly built his wall: others will have it to have been ſeated where *Agricola* had placed the firſt fences againſt the northern nations, that is betwixt the two *Friths* of *Clyde* and *Forth*, where *Antoninus*'s wall was erected.

(*a*) *BUCHANAN*, who is the chief abettor of this laſt opinion, gives no other conſiderable reaſon for it, but that there were conſpicuous remains, in his time, (which as yet do ſubſiſt) of a *Roman* wall betwixt *Clyde* and *Forth*; and inſcriptions found, that ſhew it was a *Roman* work: but that proves only, that there was a *Roman* wall in that place; and we have ſeen already, that both *Agricola*'s fences, and *Antoninus*'s wall, were built there; and all the inſcriptions found there, prove the wall to have been under *Antoninus*; and never any inſcription found in that place of *Severus*: nor does *Buchanan* mention any of his. Beſides, we ſhall ſee a third wall built there of turf and ſtone by the *Britains*, A. D. 422.

A more likely proof of *Buchanan*'s opinion is drawn from the vulgar editions of *Eutropius*, and another abridgment of the *Roman* hiſtory, under the name of *Aurelius Victor*, who both give to

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(*a*) Buchan. in Donald. I.

Severus's wall but XXXII miles in length: whence it would follow, that it was not ſituate betwixt *Tine* and *Carliſle*, where there are about LXXX miles, conſidering the various turns and windings, of the wall, from ſea to ſea; but that it was built betwixt *Clyde* and *Forth*, where *Buchanan* places it, and where the diſtance is only about XXX miles.

BUT firſt, as to that abridgment of the *Roman* hiſtory, under the name of *Aurelius Victor*, the author is uncertain, as well as the time he lived in; and the genuine and undoubted work of *Aurelius Victor*, as we ſhall ſee preſently, gives much the ſame account of *Severus*'s wall, as *Spartian* (a); that it was bounded on each ſide by the ocean, without any further account of its dimenſions.

AS to *Eutropius*, tho' the vulgar editions give but XXXII miles to *Severus*'s wall, there is juſt ground to believe that the ancient copies had a C or L before the numerical letters XXXII, ſince St. *Hierome*, near *Eutropius*'s time, who follows him, hath CXXXII. *Oroſius*, about the ſame time, gives the ſame dimenſion; and after them, *Caſſiodorus*, *Ado*, *Nennius*, and others, who give all CXXXII miles to *Severus*'s wall: in which, 'tis highly probable, that the numerical letter L hath been, by error of the tranſcriber, alter'd into that of C; theſe two letters being eaſily confounded in antient MSS. and there being no place in *Britain*, that hath CXXXII miles of breadth, which hath apparently given occaſion to criticks to cut off the C in the editions of *Eutropius:* whereas there's no likelihood of St. *Hierome*'s adding C to the number he found in *Eutropius.*

(a) Spartian. in Sever.

AMONG the more ancient hiſtorians, *Dio* and *Herodian*, who lived near *Severus*'s own time, in their accounts of his reign, make no particular mention of his building a wall, tho' *Dio* (*a*) ſpeaks in general of the wall that ſeparated the provincials from the northern nations, upon occaſion of the *Mæatæ* or *Midland Britains*, who, he ſays, dwelt next the wall, and the *Caledonians* next to them; from whence would follow neceſſarily, if *Dio* means in this place the wall built by *Severus*, as 'tis very probable he doth, that it was ſituate in *Northumberland*, ſince the *Mæatæ*, according to *Dio*, were border'd by the wall on the one ſide, and by the *Caledonians* on the other, that is, on the north: and ſo, the wall he ſpeaks of, muſt have been on the ſouth of the *Mæatæ*.

SPARTIAN, who wrote under *Diocleſian*, tho' he marks not expreſly either the dimenſions, or place of the wall, yet his telling us that it was

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(*a*) Dio Edit. Wechel. p. 866.

the greateſt (*a*) ornament of *Severus*'s reign, that he had from it the ſurname of *Britannicus*, and that it was bounded at both ends by the ocean, inſinuates plainly enough, that it was not the ſhort wall in *Scotland*, bounded by the *Friths* of *Forth* and *Clyde*, but that of *Northumberland*, above twice as long, and bounded on both ſides by the ocean. *Aurelius Victor*, in his true work already mention'd, ſeems entirely of the ſame opinion. The paſſage, where he ſpeaks of the wall, is introduced from a compariſon of what *Severus* had done in *Britain* for the ſecurity of the empire, with his other great victories over the *Perſians*, the *Arabians*, the *Adiabenes*; and then he adds, (*b*) *His majora aggreſſus*, &c. *Severus* undertook a nobler work than all that; for having overcome the enemies of the empire in *Britain*, he fortified it againſt them, by building a wall acroſs the iſland, bounded at each end by the ocean.

But tho' the matter were dubious in others, one would think that the authority of *Bede* (*c*) ſhould decide in what he atteſts from the inſpection of the remains of the wall, as well as from the tradition of his time, that *Severus*'s wall

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(*a*) Britanniam (quod maximum ejus imperii decus eſt) muro, per tranſverſam inſulam ducto, utrinque ad finem oceani munivit. Unde etiam Britannici cognomen accepit. Spartian. in Sever.

(*b*) Aurel. Victor. de Cæſarib.

(*c*) Bed. lib. 1. c. 12.

was built in *Northumberland:* and accordingly this is the uniform ſentiment of almoſt all the modern *Britiſh* writers, ſuch as *Uſher*, *Cambden*, *Stillingfleet*, *Langhorn*, &c. as well as of our *Scotiſh* writers, *Fordun*, *Major*, *Boece*, *Chambers*, *Leſly*, and all, except *Buchanan*, whoſe reaſons, as we have ſeen, prove nothing for his opinion.

BUT the moſt conſiderable objection againſt the ſituation of *Severus*'s wall in *Northumberland*, is drawn from what *Dio* ſays of *Severus*'s treaty with the *Mæats* and *Caledonians*; to wit, that he had forced them to peace, becauſe they had loſt a conſiderable part of the country: ſo the vulgar (*b*) verſion of *Ziphilin*'s abridgment of *Dio* hath it. Now it appears by what is ſaid above, that *Lollius*, under *Antoninus*, had ſettled the marches of the empire in *Britain* ſeventy years before, at the *Friths* of *Clyde* and *Forth*; ſo that if *Severus*'s wall was in *Northumberland*, far from gaining ground on the northern nations, on the contrary it would follow, that he had yielded to them very conſiderable territories, to wit, all the *debateable* lands from the ſouthern to the northern wall, which had formerly belong'd to the empire.

TO this, I conceive, may be anſwer'd in the firſt place, that the *Greek* of *Ziphilin* imports on-

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(*a*) Bed. lib. 1. c. 12.

(*b*) Dio, p. 867. c. Edit. Wechel.

ly in general, that *Severus* had forced the northern nations to retire from no ſmall territories, meaning thoſe of the *Britiſh* provinces, which they had invaded, occupied and ravaged; for this incurſion of the northern nations was, as *Herodian* remarks, the chief pretext or occaſion of *Severus*'s expedition; ſo that his beating out theſe enemies of the empire of all the *Roman* provinces in *Britain*, ſeems to be all that this paſſage of *Dio* or *Ziphilin* imports.

And as to *Severus*'s placing his wall rather in *Northumberland*, than where that of *Antoninus* ſtood, it may be anſwer'd, that in the ſame manner as notwithſtanding that *Agricola* had fix'd the marches of the empire at the northern *Friths*, yet *Adrian*, forty years afterwards, thought it ſafer to ſettle them in *Northumberland*, and there built his wall; becauſe the *Romans*, tho' they look'd upon all betwixt the walls as belonging to them, yet they found theſe *debateable* lands could not be protected by the ſhort wall betwixt the *Friths*, from the continual inroads of the northern nations, who eaſily paſs'd over theſe narrow *Friths*: ſo *Severus*, tho' he had chaſed the enemies out of the *Roman* provinces, and not only ſubdued the *Mæats*, but over-run the *Caledonians*, and forced them to a peace; yet when it was a queſtion of ſettling the barriers again, where the ſtrength of the *Roman* forces in *Britain* were to reſide, he judged it much ſafer, as *Adrian* had done, to fix the wall and garriſons in *Northumberland*; and, no doubt, it was for the ſame reaſon, that the chief forces of the empire in *Britain*, which always lay upon the frontiers, might not be at too great diſtance from the center, but nearer at hand to join the reſt of the forces placed up and down in divers ſtations, and ſo be able to repulſe any inteſtine commotions or revolts. Beſides, that the barriers of the empire being ſettled in *Northumberland*, did not hinder the *Mæats* beyond it, and perhaps even the *Caledonians* from being obliged by *Severus* to promiſe ſubjection as a condition of peace: and 'tis like, that the indignity of that treaty oblig'd firſt the *Caledonians*, and then the *Mæats*, to revolt and ſhake off the yoke immediately upon *Severus*'s returning to *York*, (*a*) as *Dio* relates.

To conclude, there may be, I conceive, a further proof of *Severus*'s wall's being ſituated in *Northumberland*, and not at the *Friths*, drawn from a paſſage of *Dio*, who wrote ſoon after *Severus*'s death. *Dio*, or *Ziphilin* from him, informs us, that the *Romans* poſſeſs'd in the iſland of *Britain* at that time only the leſſer half of the iſland; *Cujus* (Britanniæ) (*b*) *pars paulo minus quam dimidia Romana erat*: whereas, if *Severus*'s wall had been placed betwixt the northern *Friths*, and

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(*a*) Dio p. 867.
(*b*) Dio p. 367.

included the *debateable* lands, the *Romans* would have been in poſſeſſion of about two thirds of the iſland; but this is too much on that ſubject: we proceed now to the other walls.

V. *CARAUSIUS*, who uſurped the empire in *Britain*, towards the end of the third century, is ſaid to have alſo built or repaired the wall, *A. D.* 289; but I find no better authority for this, than that of the interpolator of (*a*) *Nennius*, who places *Carauſius*'s wall betwixt *Clyde* and *Forth*, near the river *Caron*.

VI. IN the year 367, the emperor *Valentinian* I. ſent over the general *Theodoſius* to *Britain*, againſt the *Picts* and *Scots*, who had invaded the *Roman* (*b*) provinces, and ravaged them for ſeveral years. *Theodoſius* coming ſuddenly on them, put them to flight, and having recover'd the *debateable* lands betwixt the two walls, he erected them into a new *Roman* province, by the name of *Valentia*; which made a fifth province in *Britain*, as hath been already remark'd. *Theodoſius*, to ſecure this new province for ever to the empire, fortified again the frontiers, and placed garriſons to defend them againſt the northern nations. Theſe new fortifications being at the extremity of *Valentia* to the north, could be no other than the fences and

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(*a*) Nennius, cap. 19. Edit. Gale.
(*b*) Ammian. l. 27.

walls of *Agricola* and *Antoninus*, betwixt *Clyde* and *Forth*, repaired again, and put in a poſture of defence.

VII. IT was alſo in the utmoſt bounds of *Valentia*, where *Antoninus*'s wall ſtood, that (*a*) *Stilicho* cauſed the marches of the empire to be fortified, *A. D.* 398, againſt the invaſions of the *Scots* and *Picts*, who, as *Claudian* relates, had broken looſe again, and were deſtroying the *Britiſh* provinces; but *Stilicho* ſent over forces, who repuls'd the enemies, and remain'd a ſafeguard to the frontiers, till (*b*) recalled by *Stilicho* himſelf, *A. D.* 402, at the battle of *Pollentum*; ſo they left the poor provincials a prey to their enemies for many years.

VIII. ABOUT the year 421, the *Romans* call'd in by the *Britains* to their help againſt the *Picts* and *Scots*, after having beat them out of the *Roman* provinces, upon their return home, order'd the provincials, for their ſecurity, to build or repair the wall betwixt them, and the *Picts* and *Scots*. This wall, the *Britains* not being ſkill'd in that kind of ſtructure, built of turf more than of ſtone; ſo it prov'd but of little uſe to their defence.

(*c*) *BEDE* gives a diſtinct account of this wall, that it was ſituated betwixt the *Friths* of *Clyde* and

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(*a*) Claudian, lib. 2. de laudibus Stilichonis.

(*b*) Claudian, de Bello Getico.

(*c*) Bede, l. 1. c. 12.

Forth, and began at a place call'd *Peneltun* in *Saxon* and *Penual* in *Pictiſh*, (*Nennius* calls it *Cenual*, perhaps *Kinnel*,) about two miles diſtant from *Abercorn*, and ended towards the weſt at *Alcluyd*, or *Dunbritton* on the *Frith* of *Clyde*. *Bede* ſays that it was very broad and very high, and that the remains of it were in his time. And to this day there are ſtill conſiderable remains of it to be ſeen; and this is what *Buchanan* took for *Severus*'s wall.

By the ſituation of this wall it appears, the marches of the *Britiſh* provinces continued ſtill at the *Friths*, where they had been ſettled *A. D.* 370, by the general *Theodoſius*'s erecting the province of *Valentia*, which remain'd ſtill in poſſeſſion of the provincial *Britains*, but frequently harraſſed and ravaged by the *Picts* and *Scots*.

These ravages and oppreſſions oblig'd the *Britains* about the year 426. to ſollicit again the aſſiſtance of the *Roman* forces; and they being come under the command of *Gallio*, ſlew great numbers of the *Scots* and *Picts*, and put the reſt to flight: and having thus reſcued the *Britains*, told them that they could not any more bring over forces to their ſuccour, that therefore they ought to take arms themſelves, and train up their people to military diſcipline; and for a further encouragement to them, the *Romans* caus'd a ſtately wall to be built, not of turf, as the former, but of ſtone eight foot broad and twelve foot high, from ſea to ſea, betwixt the towns which had been formerly built there to keep off the enemy, and in the ſame place where *Severus* had formerly built a wall. This the *Romans* caus'd to be built or repair'd on publick expence.

As to the place where this laſt wall was ſituated, *Gildas*, the oldeſt writer that ſpeaks of it, does not preciſely mark the place; tho' to any that will conſider impartially his expreſſions, where he ſpeaks of the two laſt walls, it will appear that this laſt was in a different place from the former, built or repair'd, as we have ſeen, *A. D.* 420. He ſays this laſt, of the year 426, was built betwixt the towns from ſea to ſea, that is, bounded on both ſides by the ocean, whereas the firſt was built betwixt two ſeas or friths. Beſides that the author of the *Capitula Gildæ* (*a*), publiſh'd by Dr. *Gale* from an ancient M S. ſays expreſly, that the firſt of theſe two laſt walls was betwixt *Kaer-eden*, a moſt ancient city, within two miles of *Abercorn* towards the eaſt, and ending at *Alcluyd* or *Dunbritton* towards the weſt; and that the laſt wall was at a great diſtance from the firſt built in *Northumberland*, and began at *Wall's-end* near *Tinmouth*, and ended at the ſea of *Galloway*, that is *Solway Frith*. *Fordun* (*b*) hath much the ſame deſcription of both theſe walls.

(*a*) Capit. Gild. c. 9. pag. 3. edit. Gal.

(*b*) Fordun, l. 3. c. 3, & 67.

BUT nothing is more clear than venerable *Bede* (*a*), for this laſt wall's being ſituated in *Northumberland*; both by his telling it was built in the ſame place where *Severus*'s wall ſtood, that is in *Northumberland*, as we have ſhewn above, and more expreſly by his informing us that it was hard by the monaſtery of *Hagulſtad* or *Hexhan*, which ſtands nigh the ruins of the wall in *Northumberland*. In fine, this is the general opinion of the moſt learned among the *Engliſh* writers, ſuch as *Cambden*, *Langhorn* and *Stillingfleet*.

ONLY *Buchanan* confounds the ſituation of theſe two laſt walls, and ſuppoſes they were both placed betwixt the *Friths* of *Clyde* and *Forth*, where he had formerly placed *Severus*'s wall, without any other reaſon, as we remarked in its place, than that there were ſtill remains of a *Roman* work in that place.

THIS ſingular opinion of *Buchanan*'s, as to the placing the laſt wall betwixt the *Friths*, is readily embraced by the learned (*b*) *Uſher*, as furniſhing a ſtrong argument againſt the *Scots* being at this time ſettled in *Britain*. *Uſher*'s reaſons for placing this laſt wall betwixt the *Scotiſh Friths*, and not in *Northumberland* are theſe conjectures. 1°. That it is not likely, that the *Ro-*

(*a*) Bed. l. 1. c. 12. & l. 3. c. 2.

(*b*) Uſher Antiq. Brit. p. 317.

mans would oblige the *Britains* to abandon a tract of ground of about 80 miles (to wit all the countries betwixt the northern and ſouthern walls) which they muſt have done if they built the laſt wall in *Northumberland.* To this (*a*) Dr. *Stillingfleet* gives a very reaſonable reply: that in all probability the *Britains* were then willing to let their enemies have the more room to prevent their being diſturbed by them; and this ſo much the more, that the *Romans* had declared to them, they were no more to look for any relief from them againſt the oppreſſion of theſe invaders. Beſides that the *Romans*, as well as the *Britains*, had reaſon to ſuppoſe, that, at leaſt, the *Picts* or *Caledonians* would never be content nor at reſt, till they were left in quiet poſſeſſion of ſome part of that tract of ground, of which they had ſo often before been maſters, and that they look'd upon as violently taken from them about fifty years before by the general *Theodoſius*, to be erected into a new province. On this account it was very adviſeable for the *Britains* to abandon this *debateable* ground, and accordingly, as (*b*) *Gildas* remarks, as ſoon as the *Romans* were gone, the enemies took poſſeſſion of all this tract of ground up to the wall.

2°. *USHER* objects, that it is not likely, that the *Romans* would have put the *Britains* on building

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(*a*) Stillingfl. Antiq. of Brit. Ch.

(*b*) Gild. c. 15. Omnem aquilonalem, extremamque terræ partem pro indigenis muro tenus capeſſunt.

building a long wall of 80 miles in length, ſuch as that of *Northumberland*, whereas they might with leſs forces, time and expence, have built up, or repaired the ſhort wall betwixt the northern *Friths*; which laſt would alſo require fewer hands to defend it.

To this it is anſwered, 1°. That in the place where this wall in *Northumberland* was built, there had been already two walls, that of *Adrian*, and that of *Severus*, as we have ſhewn; that there were alſo towns from place to place built of old; ſo the labour was leſs than if it had been quite a new work, the wall being rather to be repaired than built again. 2°. That this wall, according to *Gildas* and *Bede*, was built on publick, as well as private expence by the *Roman* army, as well as by the *Britains*; and ſo conſidering the number of workmen, as alſo the publick contributions, the work was neither laborious nor expenſive to particular perſons. As to the difficulty of defending a long wall, that requiring more hands than a ſhort one: it is anſwered, that it was not hands but hearts that failed the *Britains*: and this wall being built *inter urbes*, from town to town, which were nigh one another on theſe marches, it was not harder to defend this wall than it would have been to defend the northern wall, where we do not read, that the towns were ſo frequent; ſo that each town ſerved for a guard to the wall in its neighbourhood.

Besides, that the northern wall, as *Bede* takes notice, was of no uſe at all to keep off the enemies, who leaving it untouch'd, paſſed eaſily over the narrow *Friths*: whereas the long wall in *Northumberland* ſecured all, being built *a mari ad mare*, bounded on each ſide by the ocean. And this is ſufficient to anſwer *Uſher*'s conjectures, which after all are not to be put in ballance with *Bede*'s authority, which *Uſher* owns to be, in the ſituation of this wall, expreſly againſt his opinion. So that upon the whole, we may conclude, this laſt wall was built in *Northumberland*.

After the building of this wall, the *Romans* left *Britain*, and never return'd back to it again; and this concludes their expeditions into this iſland, as their empire in it had ceaſed ſome eighteen years before: and here I ſhall conclude this ſhort view of their ſettlement, provinces and walls in *Britain*, neceſſary for underſtanding more diſtinctly the ſtate of the northern nations, the moſt ancient inhabitants of what is now called *Scotland*: of whom we are now to treat in particular, and firſt of the *Midland Britains*.

CHAP. II.

Of the Britains *in* Scotland, *or* Midland Britains.

ART. I. *State of the* Midland Britains *in the* Roman *times.*

AMONG the ancient inhabitants of the north of *Britain*, or *Scotland*, the firſt place, in order of time, is due to the *Britains*. This name, in ancient authors, was common to all the ancient inhabitants of *North*, as well as *South Britain*, even of *Caledonia*, the inhabitants whereof are often call'd ſimply *Britains* by the firſt *Roman* writers, before their proper name was commonly known to them; becauſe they dwelt in the iſland, and reſembled in their cuſtoms and language the ſouthern *Britains*, before theſe laſt were totally ſubdued by the *Romans*, and civilized by them. Beſides the *Caledonian Britains*, who preſerv'd their liberty, and never were ſubject to the *Roman* yoke, there were many of the ſouthern *Britains*, upon the *Roman* invaſion, that, to preſerve their freedom, fled from their country and poſſeſſions, and join'd the *Caledonians*, and became, by degrees, one people with them.

BUT it's neither of thoſe kinds of *Britains* I intend to treat of in this place: I reſerve that to the diſſertation concerning the *Caledonians*, or *Picts*. My intention here is to diſcourſe of thoſe *Midland Britains*, whom *Dio*, or *Ziphilin* from him, call *Mæatæ*; who dwelt betwixt the *Northumbrian* wall and the *Caledonians*, and poſſeſs'd the *debateable* lands betwixt the two walls, which, by the general *Theodoſius*, under the emperor *Valentinian* I. were, *A. D.* 370, reduced into a *Roman* province, by the name of *Valentia*. Theſe *Britains*, known by the proper name of *Mæatæ*, included under them ſeveral leſſer people, ſuch as the *Ottadini*, *Selgovæ*, *Novantes*, *Damnij*, &c. Their country was commonly the field of battle, betwixt the *Romans* and northern nations; afterwards betwixt the *Saxons* and *Picts*, who had each of them poſſeſſions in it, and at laſt became all a part, as it is ſtill, of the kingdom of *Scotland*, except what lies of it betwixt *Tweed* and *Tine* in *Northumberland*. Theſe people, whom for diſtinction ſake, I ſhall call *Midland Britains* or *Mæats*, tho' I know not how long they bore that laſt name after *Dio*'s time; theſe people, I ſay, from the *Romans* ſettlement in the iſland, were ſometimes at freedom, ſometimes ſubject to the *Romans*, and oft-times over-run and ſubjected by the northern unconquer'd nations.

THE *Mæats* were firſt invaded and ſubjected, *A. D.* 82, by *Julius Agricola*, who ſettled the marches of the empire betwixt the two northern *Friths*; but that ſubjection laſted no longer than *Agri-*

Agricola remained in the iſland, and the *Mæats* enjoy'd their liberty under the following emperors till *A. D.* 138, that *Lollius Urbicus*, under *Antoninus*, carried back the marches of the empire to the *Friths* of *Clyde* and *Forth:* but that laſted alſo but a ſhort time; for we find, that under the emperor *Commodus*, (*a*) about *A. D.* 183, both the *Mæats* and *Caledonians* had broken in upon the empire; and after harraſſing the provinces, kill'd a *Roman* general that oppoſed them, and tho' repuls'd by the general *Marcellus*, they continued in arms till *Severus* the emperor came himſelf in perſon, *A. D.* 208, into *Britain* againſt them.

SEVERUS over-run both the *Mæats* and *Caledonians*, and exacted ſubmiſſion of them; but he was not well return'd to *York* when firſt the *Caledonians* (as *Dio* remarks) and then the *Mæats* ſhook off the yoke. *Severus* died ſoon after, and his ſon *Caracalla* left the *Mæats* as well as *Caledonians* at liberty, and return'd home; and from that time forward it appears the *Caledonians* poſſeſs'd themſelves of a part of the *Mæats* lands, or rather united to the *Mæats* ſhared in their poſſeſſions to the ſouth of the *Friths*, till *Theodoſius* reduced that country, as we remarked, into a province, *A. D.* 370, and from thenceforth the *Mæats* became ſubject to the *Romans:* tho' it appears that country

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(*a*) Dio, lib. 72. p. 820.

was continually haraſſed by the *Caledonians* or *Picts*, as alſo by the *Scots*. We ſhall obſerve elſewhere that the *Picts* or *Caledonians* had ſtill a claim to a part of it, and about *A. D.* 426, after the building the laſt wall, and the *Roman* forces final retreat, the *Picts* ſettled at leaſt in all the ſouthern parts of the *Mæats* country, and took poſſeſſion of it as their own, up to the *Northumbrian* wall. The *Mæats* or *Midland Britains* becoming either ſubject to or united with the *Picts*, and retiring towards the more weſtern parts, had their chief ſeat at *Alcluyd*, or *Dunbritton*.

BESIDES theſe *Midland Britains*, formerly call'd *Mæatæ*, who dwelt in *Valentia*, it cannot be doubted, but numbers of the ſouthern, or provincial *Britains* retired, and took ſhelter with them upon the *Saxons* invaſion, after the middle of the fifth century; and the *Saxons* incroaching daily more on the *Britains*, and poſſeſſing themſelves by force and great cruelty of all the beſt provinces of *South Britain*, forcing the ancient inhabitants to abandon their country, and ſeek refuge either in the extremities of the iſland, or even out of it.

ART. II. *Of the kingdom of the* Midland Britains.

IT appears by the teſtimony of ancient writers, that the *Midland Britains* had for ſeveral ages not only a dwelling, but a little kingdom of their own, call'd *Regnum Cambrenſe*, or *Cumbrenſe*, extending on the weſtern coaſt from *Dunbritton* and the northern wall, to the ſouthern wall in *Northumberland*; and that the chief ſeat of it was that impregnable rock, or caſtle, call'd *Alcluyd*, *Areclud*, *Petra Cloithe*, the ſame that is now call'd *Dunbritton* from them.

(*a*) JOCELINE, who wrote in the twelfth age the life of St. *Kentegern*, or St. *Mungo*, dedicated to *Joceline*, biſhop of *Glaſgo*, (who died *A. D.* 1199) calls theſe poſſeſſions of the *Britains* in the weſt of *Scotland*, *Regnum Cambrenſe*, and ſays this kingdom, in former times, was extended from the *Northumbrian* wall to the *Scotiſh* ſea of *Forth*, or *Clyde*; that is, from the ſouthern wall to the northern: and what the preface to the ancient (*b*) chartulary of *Glaſgo* hath of the founding that ſee, inſinuates the ſame.

(*a*) Dioceſis vero epiſcopatus ejus [S. Kentegerni] ſecundum limites Cambrenſis regni extendebatur; quod utique regnum ſicut vallum quondam a Severo principe a mari, uſque ad mare .... & uſque ad flumen Fordenſe pertingit, &c. *Joc. vita & S. Kentegerni*, MS. Bibl. Cotton. Vitell. D. VIII.

(*b*) In Cumbria itaque regione quadam inter Angliam & Scotiam ſita; fide catholica in illis climatibus exuberante & propagante; domeſtici fidei ac proceres regni cum rege provinciæ co-operante in honore Dei & ſanctæ Mariæ piæ genetricis, eccleſiam Glaſguenſem, ſedem ſcilicet pontificalem Cumbrenſis regionis, fundaverunt. Præfatio Chartul. Glaſg. ſive inquiſitio de poſſeſſionibus eccleſiæ Glaſg. Fol. 1°. MS. in collegio Scotor. Pariſ.

THAT the *Britains* of thoſe parts had proper kings or princes of their own, is likewiſe proved from the aforeſaid, and other ancient Monuments. The life of St. *Gildas*, publiſh'd by (*a*) *F. Mabillon*, from a manuſcript of the library of the abbey of *Fleury*, gives account that in the fifth age *Gildas* was born at *Arclyd*, or *Dunbritton*; that his father *Caunus*, others call him *Navus*, was king of that country, and he was ſucceeded by his ſon *Hoel*.

ST. *ÆLRED*, abbot of *Rieval*, in the life which he wrote of St. *Ninian*, about *A. D.* 1150, ſpeaking of theſe weſtern parts of *Scotland*, where St. *Ninian* was born, ſays that it was certain, not only by the teſtimony of hiſtories, but by the memory of men, that theſe weſtern countries had a proper king of their own till the end of the *Saxon* or *Engliſh* times, that is, till the *Norman* invaſion; *uſque ad noviſſima Anglorum tempora, proprium habuiſſe regem, non ſolum hiſtoriarum fide, ſed & quorundam quoque memoria comprobatur.* (*b*)

(*c*) *JOCELINE* alſo, in the above-mention'd life of St. *Mungo*, tells that in St. *Mungo*'s time, in the ſixth age, *Marken* was king, other-

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(*a*) Vita S. Gildæ in actis Benedictinis, Tom. I.

(*b*) Vita S. Niniani per Ælredum, MS. Bibl. Cotton. Tiber. D. III.

(*c*) Jocelin. vita S. Kentegerni, cap. 22, 31.

wiſe *Marcus*; by whom the ſaint being ill uſed, retired to *Wales*, but return'd back to *Glaſgo*, being invited by the pious king *Rederic*, or *Roderic*, one of *Marken*'s ſucceſſors.

BUT of this king *Rederic* we have an undoubted account from St. *Adamnan* (*a*), in St. *Columba*'s life, who relates that this *Rederic* was ſon to *Tothail*; that he was a particular friend of St. *Columba*, and that he reigned in the ſixth age at *Dunbritton*, *apud Petram Cloythe*.

(*b*) *LANGHORN* gives us a ſeries of ſeven or eight kings of theſe *Midland Britains*, who lived after this *Rederic*, ſucceeding one another, down to *Dummael*, about the middle of the tenth age: but however dubious that ſucceſſion may be, we are aſſured from better authority, that the *Britains* (*c*) were in poſſeſſion of *Alcluyd*, or *Dunbritton*, till *A. D.* 756, that *Egbert* king of the *Bernitian Saxons*, and *Oengus* king of the *Picts*, took it from them on conditions.

AFTERWARDS, this country of *Clydeſdale* and *Galloway* became a prey to the *Picts*, *Danes*, *Scots*, and *Saxons*; and the mixture of ſo many nations with their daily wars, one againſt another, obliged

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(*a*) Adamnan. vita S. Columbæ Abbatis, l. 1. c. 15.
(*b*) Langhorn de regn. Angl. ad calcem. Idem p. 239.
(*c*) R. Houeden Chr. ad hunc annum.

many of the inhabitants to leave their country, and reduced the reſt of them to that ſtate of barbarity and anarchy, which in the time of king *Alexander* I. his brother prince *David*, afterwards king, found among them, and began to put a remedy to theſe diſorders, by reſettling the epiſcopal ſee of *Glaſgo*, as it is related in the preface to the old chartulary (*a*) of that church.

THERE's no doubt but the frequent incurſions of ſo many enemies, and their oppreſſion, may have obliged ſome of the *Britiſh* inhabitants of theſe parts to retire elſewhere, as *Humphry Lhuyd* (*b*) ſays they did in the ninth age, and as it is mention'd by the aforeſaid preface of the chartulary of *Glaſgo*; but it is alſo certain, that many of theſe *Britains*, who were now call'd *Welch*, *Walenſes*, did remain in or about *Clydeſdale*, *Galloway*, and other weſtern countries of the dioceſe of *Glaſgo*, not only after the time that *Humphry* fixes their tranſmigration, but that even down to the twelfth age they were ſtill known in the dioceſe of *Glaſgo*, by the name of *Welch*, *Walenſes*, as a diſtinct people, tho' long before ſubject to the kings of *Scotland*.

THAT the *Welch*, or *Britains*, were ſtill inhabitants of *Clydeſdale*, or the adjacent countries, in the year 875, appears by what *Aſſerius*, the *Saxon* chronicle, and other ancient writers relate of

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(*a*) Chartular. Glaſg. Fol. 1.
(*b*) Ludd. Fragment. Brit. Deſcrip.

Halfden the *Dane*, with his army, their incurſion that year upon the *Picts* and *Stratcludenſes*, as *Aſſerius* calls them, or *Stratclæd-Weales*, as the *Saxon* chronicle relates. That this incurſion was not on *Britains*, or *Welch*, in *Flintſhire*, as *Cambden* interprets it, but on thoſe in *Scotland*, ſeems manifeſt, by what all ancient *Engliſh* writers, that ſpeak of this incurſion, relate of *Halfden*'s march. That the *Daniſh* army then about *Tine* divided in two bodies, whereof the one went ſouthward, the other northward, commanded by *Halfden*; that this laſt army ravaged and burnt, on their march, *Northumberland* and *Holy Iſland*, which was not in their march to *Flintſhire*, but in that to *Scotland*; and then they add, that they attack'd the *Picts* and *Stratcluds*, or *Stratclud Welch*, joyning them both in one incurſion or expedition, as a neighbouring people: by which I think it is evident, that theſe inhabitants of *Stratclyd*, or *Clydeſdale*, were not a people dwelling on the little river *Clud* in *Flintſhire*, above a hundred miles from *Galloway*, which, about theſe times, was the chief ſeat of the *Picts*, but a people dwelling about *Clyde*, in the weſt of *Scotland*, the ancient ſeat of the *Britains*, and in the neighbourhood of the *Picts*.

ART. III. *The* Walenſes, *or remains of the* Midland Britains *in the weſtern parts of* Scotland, *incorporated with the* Scots.

BUT we have as yet more evident proofs, that the remains of the old *Midland Britains* were, even in the twelfth age, inhabitants of the dioceſe of *Glaſgo*, and known there by the name of *Walenſes* (*Welch*, a common name to all that ſpoke the *Britiſh* language) as a diſtinct people: we have, I ſay, proof of this from authentick charters of our kings *Malcolm* IV. and *William*, recorded in the ancient chartulary of *Glaſgo*, which are addreſs'd to their ſubjects of the dioceſe of *Glaſgo*, in this tenor; (a) *Francis & Anglicis, Scotis & Galwejenſibus, & Walenſibus, & omnibus eccleſiæ S. Kentegerni de Glaſgo, & ejuſdem epiſcopi parochianis.* 1°. Its clear theſe charters, or precepts, for paying the tithes, are addreſs'd to the dioceſans of *Glaſgo* only. 2°. It is certain that the dioceſe of *Glaſgo*, tho' formerly it contain'd *Cumberland* in *England*, was extended only to the borders of *Scotland* in theſe kings time, and ever ſince the erection of the ſeat of *Carliſle*, A.D. 1133; ſo there were at this time inhabitants of all theſe nations within the dioceſe of *Glaſgo*, and they are otherwiſe known in hiſtory. By *Franci* are underſtood the *French* and *Normans*, whereof ſeveral families had obtained poſſeſſions and eſtabliſhments of our kings in this dioceſe, and other parts of their kingdom. The *Anglici* are the remains of the *Saxons*, ſettled here. The *Galwejenſes* were moſt part *Picts*, as we ſhall obſerve; and the *Walenſes* could be no other than the *Welch*, or remains of the old *Midland Britains*, ſtill diſtinguiſh'd from the reſt of the inhabitants by their language, and as yet known by the diſtinct name of *Welch*, given in thoſe days to all that ſpoke that language in *Britain.* And *Buchanan* (*a*) informs us, at leaſt he ſeems plainly to import, that as yet, in his time, many of the inhabitants of *Galloway* ſpoke the *Welch*, or *Britiſh* language, which was their native tongue: and I have heard that ſome of the commonalty of that country, in the remote creeks of it, continue as yet to ſpeak a particular language, different from the vulgar tongue of the *Scots*; but I could get no certain information of it.

(a) Chartul. vit. Glaſg. Fol. 52, &c.

HOWEVER, ſince the twelfth age, we have no farther mention of the *Walenſes*, or *Welch*, in thoſe parts as a diſtinct people, they being inſenſibly ſo united with, and incorporated into one people, with the reſt of the inhabitants of that country, that in the following ages they appear'd no leſs eclips'd or vaniſh'd, than if they had all left the country; and thence come the expreſſions of *Luddus's* fragment of the *Britiſh* antiquities, and that of the preface to the chartulary of *Glaſgo*, that the remains of the old *Britains*, or *Welch*, in the

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(*a*) Sequitur in eodem latere, & littore occidentali Gallouidia: quam vocem & Scotis & Vallis Gallum ſignificare eſt perſpicuum, ut cui alteri a Gallo, alteri a Vallo nomen dedere. Valli enim Wallowithiam eam appellant. Ea magna ex parte patrio ſermone adhuc utitur. *Buchanan.* lib. 2. fol. 21. edit. Arbuth.

weſtern parts of *Scotland*, had been, by the invaſions and ravages of the *Picts*, *Saxons*, *Scots*, and *Danes*, forced to leave their country.

Besides, that theſe weſtern countries, where the *Britains* dwelt, as well as the reſt of the kingdom, having been by St. *David*, and the following kings, daily more poliſh'd by wholſome laws, and reduced to a regular form of government, the inhabitants, tho' of different origines, were by degrees cemented together, and with the *Scots*, into one body of people: and from the eleventh age, downwards, the *Saxon*, or *Engliſh* tongue, being become the language of the court, both becauſe all our kings, from *Malcolm Keanmore*, downward, till king *Alexander* II. had been all bred up ſome time in *England*, and learned the language, and all of them married *Engliſh* princeſſes; and becauſe many of their great men, not only the *Saxons* and *Normans* that came in from *England* to *Scotland*, under the reigns of theſe kings, but others, following their example, ſpoke the *Engliſh* tongue, as many of the inhabitants in the ſouthern parts had done before; and thus the *Engliſh* language daily prevailing, wore out by degrees the *Welch* language in the weſt; as it did the *Pictiſh* all over; and daily reduces the old *Scotiſh*, or *Gælick*, to narrower bounds: ſo all diſtinctions of the old *Britains*, or *Welch*, in the weſtern parts of the kingdom, from the reſt of the *Scots*, being wore off, the whole inhabitants of theſe parts came by degrees only to be known by the name of *Scots*, common to the reſt of the ſubjects of the kingdom; and the different families have been of a long time ſo interwoven, if I may ſay ſo, by mutual communication and intermarriages, during the ſpace of five hundred years, under the name of *Scots*, that it is no wonder that they cannot now diſtinguiſh their origines, but look on themſelves as *Scots*, and as having always been ſo.

BUT that hinders not that great numbers of them are originally *Britains*, and perhaps many more of them of *Britiſh* extraction, than of *Scotiſh*. Hence the inhabitants of theſe countries, tho' now, and of a long time, reputed *Scots*, may claim, by as juſt a title, St. *Ninian*, St. *Patrick*, St. *Gildas*, St. *Mungo*, and other ancient natives of theſe countries, famous in former ages, for their countrymen, as if theſe great men had been all deſcended of the *Scots*.

CHAP. III.

Of the Caledonians, *or* Picts.

I AM now come to the ſecond inhabitants of *North Britain*, in order of time, the ancient, warlike, and once moſt powerful people of the *Picts*, or *Caledonians*, who preſerved their liberty againſt all the power of the *Roman* empire, at the height of its grandeur. I ſhall endeavour to be the more particular in the account of this ancient people, that nothing is more important for ſetting in a due light the ancient ſtate of *Scotland*; and that, I hope, it will appear that the preſent inhabitants of that kingdom, are much more concern'd in the ancient *Picts*, than their modern writers give them to underſtand.

TO give this ſubject all the clearneſs I can, I ſhall reduce it to the following heads, and treat, 1°. Of the antiquity of the ſettlement of the *Caledonians* in *Britain*. 2°. Of the occaſion of the name of *Picts* being afterwards given to them. 3°. Of their origine, and whence they came to *Britain*. 4°. Of their language. 5°. Of the extent of their dominions in *Britain*. 6°. Of the nature of their government. 7°. Of the ſeries of their kings. 8°. Of the union of their kingdom with that of the *Scots*. 9°. Of the continuation of their name and race, till they were incorporated into one people, and under one name with the *Scots*.

ART. I. *Of the antiquity of the ſettlement of the* Picts *in* Britain; *that they were the ſame as the* Caledonians, *and the moſt ancient and firſt known inhabitants of the northern parts of the iſland.*

MODERN criticks are divided in their opinion, about the antiquity of the ſettlement of the *Picts*

Picts in *Britain:* ſome looking on them as new inhabitants, long after the peopling the northern parts of the iſland; others eſteeming them the firſt known inhabitants, and the offspring of the ancient *Britains* of the north, ſo well known during the times of the *Romans*, by the name of *Caledonians*, ſo called from their country *Caledonia*, which, according to the *Roman* writers, included all theſe northern countries of *Britain*, ſeparated from the ſouthern by the *Friths* of *Clyde* and *Forth*.

THAT the *Picts* were not a foreign people come in upon more ancient inhabitants, but the firſt known people of the north of *Britain*, and originally *Britains* of the north, is what I intend here to eſtabliſh, as being grounded both on the teſtimonies of the *Roman* hiſtories, from whom we have the moſt ancient accounts of them; as alſo on that of *Bede*, tho' the abettors of the *Picts* being a quite different people from the *Caledonians*, draw their chief arguments from *Bede*, which ſhall be examined.

IT is agreed on, that the moſt ancient writer that gives us any diſtinct account of the inhabitants of *Caledonia*, is *Tacitus*, in the life of *Agricola*; and it appears from him, that they were look'd upon as the moſt ancient inhabitants of *Britain*, ſince *Tacitus* (*a*), ſpeaking of them, ſays it was uncertain

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(*a*) Tacit. vit. Agric. p. 231. Rutilæ Caledoniam inhabitantium comæ, magni artus Germanicam originem aſſeverant.

whether they were *advenæ* or *indigenæ*, tho' he inclines to think they came originally from the neighbouring countries call'd *Germany*. It muſt be alſo granted, that they were, in *Tacitus*'s time, very populous: ſince they ſoon made up an army of thirty thouſand men, able to diſpute their ground with the *Roman* forces ſo well diſciplin'd, and commanded by ſo able a general as *Agricola*. It is likewiſe certain, that tho' the *Romans* had the better of the *Caledonians*, they neither deſtroy'd them, nor reduced their country into provinces, and that the fruit of their victory was loſt, as ſoon as *Agricola* left the iſland; that they continued, long after that, ſo numerous and formidable enemies to the *Romans*, that, far from attacking them again, the *Romans* were obliged, *A. D.* 124, under *Adrian*, and 138 under *Antoninus*, emperors, to erect walls and trenches to protect the *Roman* provinces from the inroads of the *Caledonians*; that they had broke thro' theſe walls, *A. D.* 183, in the reign of *Commodus*, and ravaged the provincials; that notwithſtanding the advantages which *Ulpius Marcellus*, ſent by *Commodus*, had over them, they broke in again upon the *Roman* provinces; ſo that, *A. D.* 208, the emperor *Severus* himſelf went with the ſtrength of the *Roman* army againſt them, and after the loſs of fifty thouſand *Roman* ſoldiers, in over-running their country, he was content at laſt to treat with the *Caledonians* and *Mæats*, and erect a new wall for ſtopping their inroads: and twenty years after *Severus*'s death, the

Caledonians were look'd upon as ſuch formidable enemies, that *Dio* (*a*) tells us, in his account of the diſpoſition of the *Roman* legions, about the year 230, that the *Romans* kept two legions on the borders, againſt theſe unconquer'd *Britains*; whereas one legion ſufficed to keep all the reſt of the *Britains* in ſubjection.

By all this it is evident that hitherto, that is, till about the middle of the third age, the *Caledonians* far from being exhauſted, or weakened by their wars againſt the *Romans*, continued ſtill a people as formidable to the empire as ever. So there was no place for new inhabitants to come in upon their ruins, and people their deſert country; and the *Caledonians* appear all along hitherto too jealous of their liberty, to ſuffer foreigners to encroach upon them; as is pretended by thoſe (*b*) writers that would make the *Picts* a new people, come in about the third age, and ſettled in *Caledonia*: becauſe we do not meet with the name of *Picts* given to the Inhabitants of *Caledonia*, till about the end of the third age, or the beginning of the next. We ſhall afterwards (when we examine the origine of the name of *Picts*, Art. III.) give the reaſon why that name was firſt given to the ancient *Caledonians*, preciſely towards the end of the third age, without any alteration among them.

(*a*) Dio l. 55. p. 564.
(*b*) Stillingfleet's Antiq. Brit. Ch. p. 240, 241.

BUT to prove now directly that thoſe called in the end of the third, and in the following ages, by the new name of *Picts*, were not a new people lately ſettled in the iſland, but the ſame called hitherto *Britains* of *Caledonia* or *Caledonians*, we ſhall begin with the *Roman* writers who lived in thoſe times.

DIO, (*a*) in the account he gives of *Severus*'s expedition againſt the northern unconquered nations, calls the country *Caledonia*, and the people *Caledonians*, to whom he joins their neighbours the *Mæats*. *Herodian (b)* in his account of the ſame expedition, written about *A. D.* 240. calls the ſame inhabitants of *Caledonia* ſimply *Britains*, but he deſcribes them *Picts*, or painted, in theſe words *They mark their bodies with various pictures of all manner of animals, and therefore they cloath not themſelves, leſt they hide the painted outſide of their bodies.* This deſcription that *Herodian* gives of theſe warlike *Britains* or *Caledonians*, agrees perfectly with that which *Claudian* in the end of the next age gives of them by the name of *Picts*, and ſhews that *Herodian A. D.* 240. and *Claudian* about the year 400. had both the ſame people in view, and by conſequence, that the *Caledonians*

(*a*) Dio edit. Wechel, p. 866.
(*b*) Herodian. lib. 3.

and *Picts* were one and the ſame. For thus *Claudian (a)* deſcribes them.

> ——*ferroque notatas*
> *Perlegit exanimes Picto moriente figuras.*

and in another place giving account of the general *Theodoſius*'s victories, he ſpeaks thus of the *Picts. (b)*

> *Ille leves Mauros, nec falſo nomine Pictos*
> *Edomuit*——

where it is to be remarked, that *Claudian* ſays they were not without reaſon called *Picts*, or painted *Britains*, intimating evidently that their cuſtom of painting, or marking themſelves was the cauſe of the *Romans* giving them that name: but this will more clearly appear when I come to ſpeak afterwards of the occaſion of their getting that name preciſely in the end of the third age.

2°. THE firſt *Roman* writers that call the inhabitants of *Caledonia* by the name of *Picts*, in the end of the third, and beginning of the fourth age, aſſure us at the ſame time, that theſe very people, whom they call *Picts*, were one and the ſame with the *Caledonians* (*c*). *Eumenius* the orator, in his panegyrick to *Conſtantius*, *A. D.* 297. is the firſt writer extant who calls the *North Britains* by the name of *Picti*; and the ſame author in ano-

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(*a*) Claudian de bello Getico.
(*b*) Claud. Paneg. in. 3. Conſ. Honor.
(*c*) Panegyrici veteres.

ther oration, pronounced nine years afterwards in preſence of the emperor *Conſtantine*, *A. D.* 308. tells us, the *Caledonians* were a part of the *Picts*. *Non dico Caledonum aliorumque Pictorum.* By which, as we ſee, that as the *Caledonians* were *Picti* or painted, ſo there were alſo other people of the northern parts of *Britain*, who for the ſame reaſon bore the ſame name of *Picti*, to wit, the reſt of the unconquered nations of the north. And this is further confirmed and cleared by (*a*) *Ammian Marcellin*, in his hiſtory, written towards the middle or latter end of the fourth age, who is the ſecond author that ſpeaks of the *Picts*, and tells us alſo that the *Caledonians*, or as he calls them, the *Dicaledonians*, were one part of the *Picts* or painted nations, and the *Vecturiones* another. From all this it ſeems clearly to follow, that the people who began firſt in the end of the third, and beginning of the fourth age, to be called *Picts* by the *Roman* writers, were not new inhabitants in the iſland, but all one, and the ſame ancient inhabitants of theſe northern unconquer'd provinces, ſo well known in former ages by the name of *Caledonians*, or *Britains* of *Caledonia*.

3°. My third proof of the *Picts* being not (new) inhabitants, but of their being themſelves the moſt ancient and firſt known inhabitants of the northern

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(*a*) Ammian. lib. 27. p. 346. l. 30.

parts of *Britain*, is, from *Bede*, in the account he gives us of the firſt ſettlement of the *Picts* in *Britain*, from the common tradition in his time. After having told us that the firſt inhabitants of the ſouth parts of *Britain* came from *Armorica*, (now call'd *Little Britain* in the *Gauls*, and ſettled in the ſouth parts of the iſland) he adds, that whilſt they were multiplying and ſpreading themſelves from the ſouth of the iſland, the *Picts* came into *Britain*, and took poſſeſſion of the north: his words are, (*a*) *Et cum plurimam inſulæ partem* (*incipientes ab Auſtro*) *poſſediſſent* (Britones) *contigit gentem Pictorum de Scythia* (*ut perhibent*) *longis navibus non multis oceanum ingreſſam*, &c. and after telling us, that they firſt landed in *Ireland*, and not finding a ſettlement there, they came over to the north of *Britain*, and eſtabliſh'd themſelves: *Itaque petentes Britanniam Picti habitare per ſeptentrionales Inſulæ partes cœperunt: nam auſtrina Britones occupaverant*. From which paſſages it ſeems plainly to follow, 1°. As to the antiquity of the *Pictiſh* ſettlement in *North Britain*; that it was not very long after the firſt plantation of the ſouthern parts thereof, ſince theſe firſt inhabitants were, but as yet, taking poſſeſſion of the iſland; and tho' they had already planted with inhabibitants a good part of it, beginning from the ſouth, they were not yet multiply'd ſo as to ſpread to the north. 2°. That the northern parts of the

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(*a*) Bede l. 1. c. 1.

iſland, where the *Picts* ſettled, were as yet uncultivated, and void of inhabitants when they came in, the *Britains* having only taken poſſeſſion of the ſouthern parts. *Nam auſtrina Britones poſſederant.*

THIS, I conceive, to any impartial man that conſiders attentively the text of *Bede*, will appear to be his meaning: and all I pretend to ſhew by it is, not that any certain proof can be drawn from an author ſo late as *Bede*, for the firſt plantation of the iſland; but only that it was the current opinion of the natives, in *Bede*'s time, that the people who in his time were known by the name of *Picts*, were the firſt and moſt ancient inhabitants of the north of *Britain*, which is ſufficient to confute any other writers, poſterior to *Bede*; eſpecially when it does not appear that they had been at greater pains to inform themſelves, than *Bede* ſeems to have been at. So that what we find of the *Picts* coming into *Britain*, only after the times of chriſtianity, (*a*) in ſome of the *Engliſh* or *Britiſh* writers of later ages, copying one another, and all originally from *Jeffrey* of *Monmouth*, or ſuch other writers, ought to be look'd upon, if not as altogether fabulous, yet at the beſt that they were only foreign colonies coming in upon the *Picts*, long after their firſt ſettlement in *Britain*: tho' what we remark'd

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(*a*) Uſſer. Brit. Ant. p. 303, 304, 308.

already, and ſhall have occaſion to relate more at length, of the number and ſtrength of the *Picts*, or *Caledonians*, in the three firſt ages of chriſtianity, ſeems to leave no room for it.

By all we have ſaid, I hope it is ſufficiently proved, that the *Picts* were not new inhabitants upon a more ancient people, but the firſt known inhabitants of the north of *Britain*; and by conſeſequence, the ſame ſo famous in the *Roman* hiſtorians, by the name of *Caledonians*, or *Britains* of *Caledonia*.

It remains now to make this ſyſtem agree with other paſſages of *Bede*, which are the chief arguments of thoſe (*a*) writers who pretend that the *Picts* are not the ancient inhabitants of *Britain*, nor the ſame as the *Caledonians*; but a people quite different, come in long after, about the third age, upon the decay of the *Caledonians*, or *Britains* of the north, exhauſted by their wars with the *Romans*. It is then objected, that in *Bede*'s opinion, the *Picts* could not be the *Caledonians*, or *Britains* of the north, ſince he never gives them thoſe names, but on the contrary every where ſuppoſes or deſcribes the *Picts* as a people quite different from the *Britains* in their origine, in their language, in their cuſtoms, &c.

(*a*) Stillingfleet's Ant. of Brit. Ch. p. 240, 241.

But if *Bede*'s paſſage be well conſider'd, the times diſtinguiſh'd, and all equivocal terms removed, it will, I hope, appear that *Bede*'s account in reality no ways inconſiſtent, but agrees with the *Roman* writers, who give us the earlieſt accounts of the firſt inhabitants of the north of *Britain.*

I ſhall examine afterwards, apart, what relates to the country whence the *Picts* came originally, and what concerns their language. I am here only to conſider the objections in general, drawn from *Bede*, againſt the *Picts* being in ancient times the ſame as the *Caledonians*, or a part of the *Britains.*

And firſt, it is objected, that *Bede* never calls this northern people by the name of *Caledonians* ; but that only proves, that *Bede*, who wrote in the eighth century, was ſo little acquainted with ſome *Roman* writers, that he never once mentions that the northern parts of *Britain* were call'd *Caledonia :* by which it appears, that he had not ſeen either *Dio*, or *Tacitus*, &c. but took his informations from later writers, and from people of his own time. In a word, he generally ſuppoſes that the inhabitants had, in all former ages, bore the ſame names they were known by in his : ſo with him, the inhabitants of *North Britain*, called *Picts* long before his time, are call'd *Picts* at their firſt coming to plant the north of *Britain*; ſo alſo in his time the inhabitants of *Ireland* were promiſcuouſly call'd *Scots*, and therefore he calls them ſo at the time he ſuppoſes that the *Picts* firſt ſettled in *Britain*; but his not calling the *Picts* by the name of *Caledonians*, proves no more their not having had originally that name, and being the ſame people, than his never calling their country *Caledonia* proves that the north of *Britain* was never ſo call'd.

2*dly*, IT is objected, that not only *Bede* never calls the *Picts* by the name of *Caledonians*, or of *Britains*, but that he all along treats of the *Britains* and *Picts* as two people entirely diſtinct and oppoſite. In order to clear this, it muſt be obſerv'd, that the name of *Britains*, apply'd to the inhabitants, may have ſeveral diſtinct meanings, or applications, as hath been elſewhere here obſerv'd. 1°. *Britains* in general denote all the ancient inhabitants of the iſland of *Britain*, whenceſoever they came, and whereſoever they ſettled at firſt in the iſland, whether in the ſouth or the north. In this ſenſe, the inhabitants of *Caledonia*, or of *North Britain*, (call'd afterwards *Picts* by the *Romans*, about the end of the third age) were, both before and after that time, frequently call'd *Britains* by the *Roman* writers (*a*), as being equally inhabitants of *Britain*, as well as thoſe of the ſouth: and in the ſame ſenſe *Bede* himſelf, who

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(*a*) Tacitus, Herodian, &c.

never calls the whole iſland by any name but that of *Britain*, would have made no difficulty to have call'd all the inhabitants of the north, as well as thoſe of the ſouth, by the ſame name, if the obligation to ſpeak the common language of his time, and call things by the names then moſt in uſe, had not obliged him, for clearneſs ſake, to call each people by the names they were then, and many ages before, beſt known by. 2°. By *Britains*, or *Britons*, are meant thoſe inhabitants of the ſouthern parts of the iſland, on this ſide the *Friths*, who became ſubject to the *Romans*, and were by them reduced into provinces, and therefore known by the name of provincial *Britains*; who, upon the *Romans* retiring out of the iſland, in the beginning of the fifth age, being ſadly overrun by the unconquer'd nations of the north, call'd in the *Saxons* to their aid, and were ſoon after maſter'd by them, and forced to retire for ſhelter, ſome to *Wales*, others to *Clydeſdale*, others to *Britany* in *France*. In this ſenſe the *Picts*, or inhabitants of *North Britain*, not only were not *Britains*, but were ever, ſince theſe *Britains* became ſubject to the *Romans*, their conſtant enemies. And it is in this ſenſe that *Bede* makes uſe of the name of *Britains*, and treats of the *Picts* as a people quite diſtinct from them.

WHAT is ſaid here of the diſtinction of *Britains* and *Picts* in *Bede*'s time, may, in ſome meaſure, anſwer the ſame objections drawn from the manner after which *Gildas*, long before *Bede*'s time, ſpeaks of theſe two people; with this addition, that *Gildas* ſpeaks of the *Picts* with ſo much the more invidious characters and bitter expreſſions than *Bede*, becauſe *Gildas* look'd on the *Picts* and *Scots* as the firſt authors of all the calamities which the poor *Britains* ſuffer'd in his time, from the cruelty and ravages of the *Saxons*, whoſe getting a footing in the iſland was wholly owing to the frequent invaſions made on the *Britains* by the *Picts* and *Scots*.

AFTER all, by what we have ſaid in this article, and what we have further to add in the next, to prove that the *Picts* were not, as Dr. *Stillingfleet* (*a*) and others ſuppoſe, a foreign people, come in upon the decay of the *Caledonians*, but only a different name given to the *Caledonians*, and other unconquer'd people of the north of *Britain*, and by conſequence the moſt ancient inhabitants of theſe parts; by all this, I ſay, I do not pretend, that from the firſt ſettlement of the *Caledonians* in thoſe northern parts, they never received any ſtrangers among them in leſſer numbers: for beſides that it cannot be doubted, but ſeveral of the *Britains* of the ſouth, to be free of the *Roman* yoke, and preſerve their liberty, retired and joined the *Caledonians* in their wars againſt the *Romans*, and were incorporated in one ſtate

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(*a*) Stillingfleet, p. 240.

and body of people with them; it is not unlikely, that the ſtories of the three comings in of the *Picts* to *Britain*, mention'd by *Uſher* (*a*), from writers of later ages, (in caſe there be any real ground for them of better credit, and more ancient than *Jeffrey* of *Monmouth*) may have been occaſion'd by ſome little colonies coming in to them from the northern continent, and receiv'd by them as auxiliaries: but all thoſe, if ſuch there were, being far inferior in number to the ancient *Caledonians*, or *Picts*, have been incorporated into one body of people with them, without any derogation of the antiquity of the ſettlement of the ancient inhabitants, or cauſing any alteration in their ancient name; in the ſame manner as we ſee the many *Saxon*, *Norman* and other families, who, eſpecially in the eleventh and twelfth ages, came into *Scotland*, were received by our kings *Malcolm Keanmore*, his children and ſucceſſors, and got lands and poſſeſſions from them, were ſo incorporated into one people with the reſt of the ſubjects, that were it not for the addreſs made uſe of by our kings *Edgar*, *Alexander* I. *David* I. *Malcolm*, and *William*, in ſome of their charters, which bear *Anglis*, *Francis*, as well as *Scotis & Galwejenſibus*, and the accounts we have from the hiſtory of the times, and the private writings of ſome families: were it not, I ſay, for theſe records, all theſe families, tho' originally come from *France*, *England*,

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(*a*) Uſher. Antiq. Brit. p. 303, 304, 308.

or other countries, are, ſome ages ago, ſo cemented with the reſt of the *Scots*, that far from making any alteration of the name of the *Scots*, they have loſt their own original name, and many of them the memory of the country of their origine; are equally reputed *Scots*, as the moſt ancient inhabitants, and are only known by that name: and as the coming in of theſe ſtrange families derogated nothing from the antiquity of the *Scots*; ſo neither did any foreign colonies derogate from the antiquity of the *Caledonians*, in caſe any ſuch did come into them.

ART. II. *Of the occaſion of the name of* Picts *given to the* Caledonians, *or* Britains *of the north.*

THAT the people who began to be call'd *Picts* in the third, and after-ages, were truly and properly the ſame people with the *Caledonians*, and other ancient *Britains* of the north, will as yet further and more diſtinctly appear, by examining the origine, or firſt riſe and occaſion of the name of *Picti*, or *Picts* in *Britain*; and ſhewing that it was not originally the proper name of the people ſo call'd, brought in with them to the iſland, or a name which they gave themſelves, but a general denomination given by the *Romans*, in or about the third age of chriſtianity, to the *Caledonians*, and not to them alone, but to all the ancient unconquer'd inhabitants of *North Britain*, from their continuing the cuſtom of painting, or marking figures on their bodies, as a mark diſtinguiſhing them from the provincial, or conquer'd *Britains*, who, upon ſubmitting to the *Roman* laws and polity, had laid aſide the uſe of painting, with the reſt of their former cuſtoms, eſteemed barbarous by the *Romans*. And this name of *Picti* being once fix'd by the *Romans* and provincial *Britains*, that ſpoke the *Latin* tongue, and appropriated to the northern unconquer'd inhabitants, was afterwards retain'd, with little alteration, in the vulgar tongues by the *Britons* and *Saxons*, as were the proper names of cities; and the ſame name was expreſs'd in the equivalent term of *Cruithneach* by the *Iriſh* and ancient *Scots*: all which, I hope, will clearly appear by the following obſervations.

1°. IT is to be remark'd, that before the *Romans* enter'd *Britain*, and till, by their ſettling their government there, they had poliſh'd the *Britains* by degrees as they ſubdued them, and reduced them into provinces, all the *Britains* of the ſouth, as well as thoſe of the north, had the cuſtom of painting themſelves, or marking their bodies, as (a) *Cæſar* and *Mela* remark, who both of them wrote before the *Romans* had made any fix'd ſettlement in the iſland. And even the name of the iſland itſelf ſeems derived from that cuſtom; for *Brith*, according to *Cambden*, ſignifies *paint*; and *Tannia*, in the *Celtick* language, (which is the mother-tongue of the *Britiſh*) ſignifies, according to (*a*) *Pezron*, *country*: ſo that *Britannia* originally ſignifies the country of the painted, or figured people. Upon the whole, it appears, that in the earlieſt times, whilſt the *Britains* lived as yet according to their native cuſtoms, before the *Romans* enter'd, the *Britains* of the ſouth were no leſs *Picti*, painted, than thoſe of the north; but then there was no occaſion for their being call'd *Picti*, the cuſtom being common to them all, the name would not have ſerved to diſtinguiſh them.

(a) Cæſar's Comment. l. 5. Pomp. Mela. l. 3. c. 6. Solon. c. 35.

2°. THAT the *Romans* eſtabliſhing their polity, cuſtoms, and manners, among thoſe they ſubjected to the empire, and reduced into provinces, and aboliſhing thoſe cuſtoms of the conquer'd nations that appear'd barbarous to them, and oppoſite to their manners, ſuch as that of painting, or making figures on their skins; it happen'd that this cuſtom of painting being laid aſide by the ſouthern *Britains*, by degrees, as the *Roman* conqueſts advanced towards the north, and as their polity was ſettled among them, and remaining at laſt only among the *Caledonians*, and other unconquer'd nations of the north, it was very natural for the *Romans*, and thoſe that ſpoke their lan-

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(*a*) Pezron Antiq. des Gaules, p. 378, 418.

guage, to give the name of *Picti*, or *Picti Britanni*, to theſe laſt, to diſtinguiſh, by one remarkable name, all the unconquer'd *Britains* from the provincials, who had left off that cuſtom of painting, or making figures on themſelves.

THE truth of this origine of the name will as yet appear more clearly, if it be conſider'd, that it was in the end of the third age that we find this name of *Picti* firſt given to the *Caledonians*, and other *Britains* of the north, by the orator *Eumenius*; and that there was a particular reaſon why the *Romans* gave them that name in the third age, rather than before, becauſe the cuſtom of painting, or making figures on themſelves, began in the third age to be a more remarkable diſtinction betwixt the provincials and extra-provincials, than ever before.

THE emperor *Severus*'s expedition into *Britain*, was in the beginning of the third age. From the wars of *Julius Agricola*, under *Domitian*, till *Severus*'s time, the *Romans* had never entered *Caledonia*; having enough to do to defend their provinces in *Britain* againſt the northern nations, we do not find that they attacked them but in their own defence. *Severus*'s ambition to have the ſirname of *Britannick* carried him further, and intending a conqueſt of the whole iſland, (*a*) he entered *Caledonia*, and

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(*a*) Dio. Wechel. p. 867.

marched his army, tho' with almoſt incredible loſs, to the furtheſt extremities of the north of *Britain:* the *Romans* who followed him in this expedition, and penetrated to the utmoſt bounds of *Caledonia*, had more occaſion than ever before to know the manners and cuſtoms of the northern inhabitants, and to remark more particularly, that they were all painted, or marked with figures, as *(a) Herodian* an author of that time, in the very account of this expedition, deſcribes them. The *Romans* at the ſame time obſerving no ſuch cuſtom among the provincial *Britains*, who had time out of mind laid it aſide, it was natural for them, ſeeing all the extra-provincials painted or coloured, and none ſo but them, to give them the name of *Picti*, which in one word comprehended all the different extra-provincial *Britains*, and ſerved to diſtinguiſh them, by one common name that included them all, from the provincial *Britains*. And ſo it happened; for *Herodian*, tho' he deſcribes them painted or coloured, yet ſtill continues to call them *Britains*, as his cotemporary *Dio* calls them *Caledonians*, in the account they have given us of *Severus*'s expedition. The firſt *Roman* writer, after that expedition, that mentions theſe northern unconquer'd nations, calls them all by one common name of *Picti*, *Picts*. This was the orator *Eumenius*, who, in the year 297, in an oration before the emperor *Conſtantius*, calls theſe nations, for the firſt time, *Picti*; and in another oration, as we have already remark'd, pronounced, *A. D.* 308, eleven years after, in the preſence of *Conſtantine*, tells us that the *Caledonians* were only a part of the *Picts*, or painted *Britains*; and thereby giving us to underſtand that *Picti* was now become the general name to all the northern unconquer'd nations. The ſame extent of the name of *Picti* appears alſo in *Ammian*, as we obſerved elſewhere.

(a) Herodian, lib. 2.

FROM what we have ſaid, I hope manifeſtly appears the natural reaſon of this new name of *Picti*, given to a people ſo well known to be the ancient inhabitants of theſe northern parts, that the ſame *Eumenius* (*a*), the firſt time he mentions them, ſuppoſes it as a thing well known, that they uſed to have wars with the *Britains* before the coming in of *Julius Cæſar*; and this he advances in the preſence of the emperor, and chief officers of the empire, lately come from *Britain*. I hope alſo, what is ſaid above ſuffices to diſcover the particular occaſion of the *Romans* giving this new name of *Picti* to the northern *Britains* preciſely in the third age, after *Severus*'s expedition into theſe northern parts of the iſland.

NOW this name being once given them by the *Romans*, and continued by the provincial *Britains*,

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(*a*) Eumen. Paneg. 9.

who ſpoke their tongue, down to the *Saxon* invaſion; it was as natural for the *Britains* and *Saxons* to retain the name, tho' originally *Latin*, in their vulgar tongues, with alterations according to their different idiotiſms, as to retain ſo many names of towns and countries, and ſo many other words derived from the *Latin*, particularly the names of things, whereof the *Romans* had introduced among the *Britains* the firſt uſe; ſo the *Britains*, or *Welch*, of courſe call'd all theſe northern people, their ancient enemies, *Phychthead*; the *Saxons* named them *Pehts*, or *Pyhtas*; and the *Iriſh*, and ancient *Scots*, expreſs'd the ſame thing in equivalent terms of their language, calling them *Cruithneach*, from *Cruith*, which ſignifies forms or figures, ſuch as they uſed to paint or mark on themſelves.

AND now, I hope, what I have ſaid in this article, of the occaſion of the *Caledonians* being call'd *Picts*, will appear, to impartial readers, a ſufficient anſwer to Dr. *Stillingfleet*'s (*a*) firſt objection: *That he does not underſtand why the continuing an old cuſtom ſhould give the* Caledonians *a new name.* The next objection he makes is, *What makes the* Roman *writers ſo ſuddenly alter their ſtyle, and exchange a name ſo famous among the* Romans, (*as that of* Caledonians) *for the name of* Picts, *which was not heard of before.* This query

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(*a*) Stillingfleet's Antiq. Brit. p. 240, &c.

is alſo, in a great meaſure, anſwer'd by what we have ſaid already; to which I add, that the *Romans* writers did not alter their ſtyle on a ſudden, as the objection ſuppoſes, but by degrees. *Eumenius* is the firſt that calls all the northern unconquer'd nations by the name of *Picti*, but he ſtill continues to call a part of them by their old name, *Caledonians*, [*Caledones aliique* (*a*) *Picti*]; and they continue to be ſo named by *Roman* writers, in the end of the fourth age, (*b*) *Dicaledones*; and here alſo they are only a part of the *Picts*, painted, or unconquer'd nations of the north: and this ſeems the true reaſon why the *Roman* writers ceaſed to call them *Caledonians*, at leaſt why we meet not with that name, after the fourth age, given to theſe unconquer'd nations, who are all commonly from that time call'd *Picti*, as being all comprehended under that common name: whereas the name of *Caledonians*, comprehending only a part of the *Picts*, or unconquer'd nations, grew out of uſe by degrees; eſpecially after the *Scots*, who came from *Ireland*, began to make a figure in *Britain*, and were known to the *Romans* as the common enemies of the empire, in conjunction with the *Picts*. And, from that time, both the *Roman* and *Britiſh* writers comprehend, under the names of *Picts* and *Scots*, all the northern nations, who had never been ſubjects of the *Roman*

(*a*) Eumen.

(*b*) Ammian. lib. 27. p. 347.

empire: and the leſſer people, whoſe proper names we find in former writers, being either become ſubject to, or united into one people with the *Picts*, or the *Scots*, or the *Britains* of the north, we hear no more of the names of any other nations in *Britain*, after the coming in of the *Saxons* in the fifth age, but of the *Britains*, the *Picts*, the *Scots*, and of the *Saxons*: at leaſt this is the ſtyle of *Gildas*, and of *Bede*, who ſeem to have read neither *Tacitus*, nor *Dio*, nor any *Roman* writer, who mentions *Caledonia*, or the *Caledonians*.

ART. III. *Of the origine of the* Caledonians, *or* Picts, *and from whence they firſt came into* Britain.

AS to the country from whence the *Caledonians*, or *Picts*, came firſt into *Britain*, *Bede* (a) ſays that the report was in his time, (*ut perhibent*) that they came originally from *Scythia*; and in this he is generally follow'd by later writers: but whereas the ſaid *Bede* writes, and it is commonly agreed on, that the *Britains* of the ſouth came from the oppoſite coaſts of the *Gauls*; from this his giving a different origine of theſe *Britains*, and of the *Picts*, is form'd a new objection againſt what we have endeavour'd to prove in the foregoing articles, of the *Picts* being the ancient *Bri-*

(a) Bed. l. 1. c. 1.

tains of the north: but if this were of any weight, it would equally prove, that the *Silures*, a people of *South Britain*, were not *Britains*; becauſe *Tacitus* (*a*) thinks that they came originally from *Spain*. As if the greateſt part of the *Britains* of the ſouth, becauſe they came in originally from the oppoſite coaſts of the *Gauls*, were more juſtly entitled to the name of *Britains*, than the other ancient inhabitants of the iſland, tho' they had come at firſt from different countries.

IT was not then the coming to ſettle in *Britain*, from one country rather than from another, that gave the inhabitants of the iſland the name of *Britains*, (for all of them, at the firſt plantation of it, muſt have come in from ſome foreign country or other) but their being the firſt known inhabitants of the reſpective provinces of *Britain*, whether ſouth or north, gave them equally a right to that name. Hence the *Picts* being, according to *Bede*, as we have ſeen, the firſt inhabitants of the northern parts of *Britain*, from whatſoever country they came, were, by their being ancient inhabitants of the iſland, no leſs entitled to the common name of *Britains*, than the inhabitants of the ſouthern parts of the iſland.

BUT to come now to the country that was the origine of the *Caledonians*, or *Picts*. If we

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(*a*) Tacit. v. Agric. n. 11.

ſuppoſe the conjectures of *Tacitus*, and of *Bede*, to be well grounded, it will appear that the firſt inhabitants of *Caledonia* came originally from the ancient *Cherſoneſus Cymbrica*, or *Scandia*, ſo famous for ſending abroad numbers of people, that *Jornandes* (*a*) calls it juſtly the work-houſe of nations, *Officina Gentium*. And whereas *Tacitus* (*b*) conjectures, that the *Caledonians* came out of *Germany*; and *Bede*, who calls them *Picts*, by the name they commonly bore in his time, ſays it was reported that they came from *Scythia*: this difference may be eaſily reconciled, by explaining the meaning of theſe two writers.

(*c*) *TACITUS*, in his deſcription of *Germany*, includes in *Germania Magna*, as well as *Pomponius Mela*, all the northern nations of the *European* continent, even to the ocean; containing an immenſe extent, and many iſlands, unknown to the *Romans*. On the other hand, *Bede* following the ancient geographers, ſuch as (*d*) *Strabo*, as alſo (*e*) *Diodorus* and (*f*) *Pliny*, ſuppoſes that *Scythia Europæa* extended to the utmoſt bounds of the north; and includes, among the *Scythians*, the ancient inhabitants of *Norway*, *Sweden*, *Danemark*,

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(*a*) Jornandes de rebus Geticis, l. 1. c. 4.

(*b*) Tacit. vit. Agric. n. 11.

(*c*) Tacit. de morib. Germanor. n. 1, 2.

(*d*) Strabo, p. 507.

(*e*) Diodor. l. 6. c. 7.

(*f*) Plin. l. 6. c. 13.

the *Daci*, *Getæ*, &c. So that in reality, *Tacitus* and *Bede* differ only in name; but both agree in the ſame opinion, that the *Caledonians*, or *Picts*, came in at firſt from the oppoſite coaſts of the northern parts of the *European* continent, which *Tacitus* includes in *Germany*, and *Bede* in *Scythia*.

Now, ſuppoſing that there were any good ground for the opinion of theſe two writers, which they themſelves give only as a conjecture or hearſay, and that we had any certainty of the *Caledonians*, or *Picts*, having had their origine from the more northern parts of the *European* continent, it were an uſeleſs, as well as an endleſs diſcuſſion, to examine in particular from which of all the northern nations of the continent the firſt colony came to *Caledonia*; becauſe that theſe nations of the north were almoſt in perpetual motion, and changing habitations, as *Strabo* (*a*) remarks; and he aſſigns for it two reaſons: the one becauſe of the barrenneſs of the ſoil, they tilled not the ground, and built habitations only for a day: the other, becauſe being often over-power'd by their neighbours, they were forced to remove. Another reaſon why it is impoſſible to know from which of thoſe nations the northern parts of *Britain*, (ſuppoſing they came from thence) were at firſt peopled, is becauſe we have but very lame accounts of theſe northern nations from the *Greek*, or *Roman*

(*a*) Strabo, p. 291.

man writers, (from whom alone we can look for any thing certain in thoſe early times) eſpecially of thoſe of *Scandia*, to the north of the *Baltick* ſea, as the ſame *Strabo* (*a*) obſerves. Beſides it appears, that *Caledonia* was peopled long before the inhabitants of theſe northern parts of the continent were mention'd, or even known by the moſt ancient writers we have; and perhaps before the firſt nations mention'd by them were ſettled in thoſe parts.

BUT if, notwithſtanding the ignorance we are left in by the moſt ancient *Greek* and *Roman* writers, of the inhabitants of the northern continent in the moſt early times, any conjecture may be drawn from the cuſtoms of theſe nations, when they begin to appear in certain hiſtory, it would be a confirmation of the *Caledonians* being come into *Britain* from thoſe northern parts of the continent, that we find by the firſt *Roman* writers, who mention them, the cuſtom of painting, or imprinting figures on their bodies, (which is the moſt diſtinctive character of the *Caledonians*) ſtill in uſe in the firſt age of chriſtianity, among ſeveral of theſe people of the northern continent.

SUCH were the *Arii* mentioned by (*b*) *Tacitus*, the (*c*) *Agathyrſi*, and *Geloni*; and theſe laſt are

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(*a*) Strabo, p. 294.

(*b*) Tacit. de morib. German. p. 228. edit. Lipſ.

(*c*) Virgil. Georg. l. 2.

alſo mention'd by (*a*) *Solinus*, who gives the ſame character of them, and the *Getæ*, as he does of the *Picts*. And tho' thoſe people lived, for the moſt part, when theſe authors wrote of them, at a diſtance from the northern coaſts, yet we know not what changes might have happen'd in their habitations, from the time of the firſt planting the north of *Britain*, till that of theſe writers.

BUT as all that I have advanced hitherto in this article, of the origine of the *Caledonians* from *Scandia*, or other northern parts of the *European* continent, hath no other ground but a conjecture of *Tacitus* and *Bede*'s hear-ſay, (*ut perhibent*): I muſt own, that it appears much more natural, and more probable, that the *Caledonian Britains*, or *Picts*, were of the ſame origine as the *Britains* of the ſouth; that as theſe came in originally from the neareſt coaſts of the *Gauls*, by degrees, as they multiplied in the iſland, and peopled the ſoutherly parts of it, they advanced towards the more northerly, and ſeated themſelves there, carrying along with them the ſame cuſtoms as the *Britains* of the ſouth, as alſo the ſame language derived originally from the *Celtes*, or *Gauls*; and *Tacitus* (*b*) himſelf ſeems at laſt to come into this opinion; for after his conjecture about the origine of the *Caledonians*, and of the *Silures*, he adds, without excep-

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(*a*) Solin. c. 25.

(*b*) In univerſum tamen æſtimanti, Gallos vicinum ſolum occupaſſe credibile eſt. *Tacit. vit. Agric. n.* 11.

exception, as to all the *Britains* in general, that it was more credible, or likely, that the *Gauls* from the neighbouring coaſt had at firſt peopled the iſland. This ſeems more natural; for ſo the earth was peopled at firſt. Men, as their number increaſed in their firſt habitations, being obliged to advance forward to new ones in their neighbourhood, to tranſport themſelves, not only over rivers, but over the narrow paſſages of ſea, at firſt only to the neareſt lands, or iſlands, which they could eaſily diſcern from their own coaſts, before they durſt venture on ſea-voyages out of ſight of land, eſpecially in thoſe early times, when men were ſo ignorant of the art of navigation: ſo it is much more probable, that the firſt inhabitants of the northern parts of *Britain*, came rather from the ſoutherly parts of the iſland, than from *Scandia*, or other parts of the northern continent, at the diſtance of ſeveral days ſailing from any part of *Britain*.

THIS origine of the *Caledonians* is confirm'd by the account that the *Roman* writers *Herodian*, *Dio*, and even *Tacitus* himſelf, in other places, give of them, by their calling them ordinarily by the name of *Britains*, and by their treating of them as a part of the *Britains*, without other diſtinction than that of their being ſeated in the moſt northerly part of the iſland, *Caledonia*, and of their having maintained their liberty with greater courage and unanimity, than the *Britains* of the ſouth, againſt the power of the *Roman* empire. This character of the *Caledonian Britains* appears eminently in the noble harangue which, according to *Tacitus*, the famous *Galgacus* made to his countrymen, aſſembled in battle againſt *Agricola*'s army. He tells them, they were the moſt noble among the *Britains*, (*nobiliſſimi totius Britanniæ*) who had never beheld ſlavery, much leſs undergone it; which is the only difference he puts betwixt the *Caledonians* and *Britains* of the ſouth. In fine, *Herodian* never calls theſe of the north but *Britains*, tho' he deſcribes them to be *Picts*; and *Tacitus* himſelf, who calls their country *Caledonia*, never gives the inhabitants of it any other name but that of *Britains*.

ART. IV. *Of the* Pictiſh *language.*

HAVING in the foregoing articles ſhewn that the *Picts* were the ſame people with the *Caledonians*, and that the *Caledonians*, or *Britains* of the north, were originally the ſame people with the *Britains* of the ſouth; it follows of courſe that their language in ancient times, and before the *Romans* were ſettled in *Britain*, was the ſame, to wit, *Britiſh*.

AND even tho' we ſhould ſuppoſe that the *Caledonians*, or *Picts*, had their origine from the northern parts of the *European* continent, as *Tacitus* ſeems to conjecture, and as it was reported to *Bede*; that would not hinder the *Caledonians* from having originally had the ſame language as the *Britains:* ſince it appears, that the *Celtick* language, whereof the *Britiſh* is a dialect, was in uſe in ancient times in the furtheſt extremities of the the north: at leaſt the *Celtes*, or *Celto-Scyths*, were extended to theſe parts; for *Strabo* tells us, that the ancient *Greek* writers call'd all the northern nations *Celto-Scyths*, or *Scyths*; and (*a*) *Tacitus* aſſures us, that in his time the *Gallick* tongue was in uſe among ſome of theſe northern people, ſuch as the *Gothini*; and the *Britiſh* tongue among others, as the *Æſtii.*

BUT we need not go ſo far off to ſeek the origine of the *Caledonians*, or of their language, having already ſhewn that it is much more natural, and better grounded in authority, to think that the *Caledonians* were a part of the *Britains* of the ſouth, and that both of them had in common their origine from the neareſt coaſts of the *Gauls*; and by conſequence, the language of the *Caledonians* muſt have been originally the ſame as that of the *Britains* of the ſouth.

HOWEVER, it is no wonder that the long habitation of the *Romans*, mix'd with the *Britains*, cauſed ſuch alterations, both in their manners or cuſtoms, and in their language, as to make the

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(*a*) Tacit. de morib. German. edit. Gronov. n. 43, & 45.

Caledonians, or *Picts*, after ſeveral ages, appear a people of a different origine, and different language: and theſe alterations, no doubt, gave occaſion to *Bede* (*a*), a ſtranger to the languages, both of the *Britains* and *Picts*, to expreſs himſelf in the manner he doth, both of the people, and of their tongues, in that famous paſſage where he ſays, in his time there were in *Britain* five languages of five people, to wit, the *Engliſh* or *Saxon*, the *Britiſh*, the *Scots* or *Iriſh*, the *Pictiſh*, and the *Roman* or *Latin*: where, among others, he makes both the *Britiſh* and *Pictiſh* people, and their language, quite diſtinct. For tho' *Bede* might know ſome words of the *Britiſh* and *Pictiſh* languages, as we ſee he did, yet it required a greater knowledge of them, than can be ſuppoſed in a native *Saxon*, to be able to diſcern by their analogy, that they were originally but different dialects of the ſame mother-tongue; and after all, *Bede* ſpoke as properly in calling them diſtinct languages, as one would do in calling the *Engliſh* and *Germans* different languages: there having been, without doubt, as great an alteration in the *Britiſh* tongue from the time of the *Romans* being ſettled in the iſland, as there is in that of the *Engliſh* ſince the *Norman* conqueſt.

For tho', before the coming in of the *Romans*, the *Britains*, both of the ſouth and of the north,

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(*a*) Bede, lib. 1. c. 1.

ſpoke one and the ſame language; yet after their having been, from the time that the *Romans* ſettled in the iſland, about ſix hundred years before *Bede*'s time, not only in quite different intereſts, and ſeparated from one another, but that the *Britains* of the ſouth, by their long ſubjection to, and mixture with the *Romans*, had learned their language, and received in their own a multitude of new words and expreſſions from the *Latin*, as well as new arts and ſciences, unknown to the northern *Britains*, or *Caledonians*; together with an accent, and pronunciation, quite different from theirs. All this, in length of time, muſt have naturally made ſuch alterations in the *Britiſh* language, as to make the *Britiſh* and *Pictiſh* appear as different one from another, as the *Engliſh* doth from the *Dutch* or *Germans*; in a word, ſo as not to be underſtood one by another. So it is no wonder that *Bede*, a ſtranger both to the *Britiſh* and *Pictiſh*, took them for different languages.

BUT that did not hinder his learning ſeveral words of both languages; for we no where find a clearer proof of the *Pictiſh* language, being the ſame with the *Britiſh*, than in (*a*) *Bede*, where he tells us, that *Penuahel* in *Pictiſh* ſignified the head of the wall, which is juſt the ſignification that the ſame two words *Pen* and *Uahel* have in the *Britiſh*.

(*a*) Bede, l. 1. c. 12.

tiſh. But to render the proof drawn from the equivalency of ſenſe or ſignification of the ſame words in the *Britiſh* and *Pictiſh* languages more clear, it is fit to obſerve, 1°. That all the words, that we know of, remaining of the *Pictiſh* tongue, are names of places. 2°. That all the northern provinces of *Britain*, at leaſt from the *Friths* of *Cluyd* and *Forth* to the *Orknays*, were (as we (*a*) ſhall ſhew) the ancient dominions of the *Caledonians* or *Picts*, till about the eighth or ninth age (excepting what the *Scots* poſſeſſed in the north-weſtern parts of the iſland.) So all the old words or names of places in thoſe parts, which formerly belonged to the *Picts*, at leaſt thoſe that are not *Gælick* or *Iriſh*, muſt be *Pictiſh*, and if they prove to have the ſame ſignification in the *Britiſh* tongue, the conformity of thoſe two languages will more clearly appear.

THUS *Aber*, which ſignifies in the *Britiſh* tongue (as *Camden* obſerves) the fall or mouth of a river or brook, is moſt frequently us'd in thoſe parts of *Scotland*, where the *Picts* formerly inhabited, in the ſame ſignification; as *Aberdeen*, *Abernethy*, *Aberbrothock*, and a multitude of others. The ſame thing may be ſaid of the word *Strat* or *Strath*, which in the *Britiſh* tongue, as the ſame learned author remarks, ſignifies a valley, having a river or brook running through it; and is very

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(*a*) Infra Art. V.

common in *Scotland*, in the ſame ſenſe as in theſe words, *Stratherne*, *Strathdie*, *Strathdone*, *Strathyla*, *Strathawin*, *Strathſpei*, *Strathbogy*, and many others: and ſince theſe words are not old *Scotiſh* or *Iriſh*; and that the *South-Britains* never dwelt in thoſe parts, they muſt be *Pictiſh*, and by conſequence are a new proof of the conformity of the *Britiſh* and *Pictiſh* languages. And I make no doubt, but a perſon well skilled in the *Britiſh* tongue would, by obſervation, find many more words, common to the *Britiſh* and *Pictiſh* languages, in theſe northern parts of the iſland formerly inhabited by the *Picts*; notwithſtanding that many names of places are ſo alter'd and corrupted by length of time, and by changes of poſſeſſors and inhabitants, that they appear quite different from what they were originally, or in former ages. Thus two of the moſt famous places in the *Pictiſh* times, *Abernethy* in *Stratherne*, the chief ſeat, as it is believed, of the *Pictiſh* kings, and *Forteviot*, another habitation of the *Pictiſh* and *Scotiſh* kings, both of them now inconſiderable villages, were formerly very differently written: the one (*a*) *Apurnethige*, the other (*b*) *Fothurtabaicht*, as may be ſeen in the appendix of ancient pieces at the end of this work. And I believe the many names of old places in thoſe parts, which now begin by the ſyllable *For*; as *Forfar*, *Forres*, *Fordyee*, &c. may

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(*a*) Append. n. 2.
(*b*) Append. n. 3.

have formerly been written *Fothur*, or *Fothuir*; and it is in that way of writing that the true meaning of the word muſt be ſought. The ſame thing may have happened to ſuch names of places in the north, as begin with the ſyllables *Pet* or *Pit*, *Tille*, *El*, *Roth*, and the like.

I muſt alſo here remark, that even many words or names of places, which paſs for old *Scotiſh*, *Gælick* or *Iriſh*, may have had the ſame ſignification in the *Britiſh* language, which they have in *Gælick*, and yet have been originally *Pictiſh*. Theſe three languages, the *Britiſh*, the *Pictiſh*, and the *Iriſh*, as hath been already remarked, having all originally been only different dialects of the ſame mother-tongue, the *Celtick*; there being an analogy no leſs viſible betwixt the two of theſe languages that ſtill ſubſiſt, to wit, the *Britiſh* divided into the *Welch*, *Corniſh*, and *Armorican* dialects, and the *Iriſh* the ſame with the old *Scotiſh* or *Gælick* on the one hand, than there is on the other, betwixt the *Engliſh*, *High* and *Low Dutch*, originally dialects of the *Gothiſh*. Thoſe who by education, or by their own private ſtudy have a competent knowledge of theſe languages, will, by comparing them, find out their analogy; and others that have not had thoſe advantages, will find abundance of proofs of it in the late Mr. *Edward Lhuyd*'s learned work, intitled, *Archæologia Britannica*.

It was in all appearance this analogy or affinity of the *Pictiſh* language, with the *Iriſh* or *Gælick*, the vulgar tongue of the generality of the *Scots* in thoſe days, and with the *Britiſh*, which was the language of the *Walenſes* or *Welch* in *Galloway*, and other parts of the weſt of *Scotland*; that upon the union of the *Pictiſh* and *Scotiſh* kingdoms in the ninth age, made the *Pictiſh* language ſo diſappear before the middle of the twelfth age, (which was (*a*) *Henry* of *Huntington*'s wonder) as if it never had been: the *Picts*, after the union, being by degrees all over the north incorporated into one body of people with the *Scots*, whoſe vulgar language, before *Malcolm Keanmore*'s reign, was generally the *Gælick* or *Iriſh*, left off more naturally the uſe of their own language, and came to ſpeak that of the *Scots*, becauſe of the affinity betwixt the two languages. The ſame thing happened in *Galloway* and the weſtern parts, where many of the *Picts* were mix'd with the *Walenſes*, or remains of the *Midland Britains*, even before the union with the *Scots*, and where they made a greater figure after it by the name of *Galwejenſes*, as we ſhall ſee elſewhere.

Art. V. *Of the extent of the* Pictiſh *dominions.*

There's no part of the ancient ſtate of the north of *Britain*, or *Scotland*, that ſeems to have

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(*a*) Hen. Huntington, lib. 1. fol. 171.

been more miſrepreſented, or leſs underſtood by our modern writers, than the extent of the *Pictiſh* and *Scotiſh* dominions in old times. (*a*) *Boece* reduces the *Pictiſh* dominions within very ſmall bounds, ſince he tells us, that from the beginning of the *Scots* monarchy in *Britain*, the *Scots*, beſides the weſtern provinces and iſles, were poſſeſſed of all the northern countries beyond the *Grampian* hills, or *Cairn* of *Mounth*, and ſets down the diſtribution of theſe northern parts, made by *Fergus* I. three centuries before the incarnation, among his nobles; and in this he is generally followed by the *Scotiſh* writers that came after him.

(*b*) *CAMDEN* on the contrary confines the *Scotiſh* dominions even in St. *Columba*'s time to *Argyle*, *Kentyre*, *Knapdail*, and ſome of the weſtern iſlands towards *Ireland*, and extends the *Pictiſh* territories to *Lorn*, *Mule*, and *Jona*, or *Ycolmkill*, grounded chiefly on *Bede*'s having made *Jona* the donation of the *Picts* to St. *Columba*. My intention here is to examine the extent of the *Pictiſh* or *Caledonian* dominions, according to what remains we have of ancient writers. And 1°. their extent to the north, that is beyond the *Friths* of *Clyde* and *Forth*, towards the northern extremities of *Scotland*. 2°. The extent of their dominions, by degrees, to the ſouth of theſe *Friths*.

(*a*) Boet. p. 11, 12. edit. A. D. 1575. Leſlæi hiſt. p. 54.
(*b*) Camden in Scotia.

§. 1. *Extent of the* Caledonian, *or* Pictiſh *dominions to the North: that they reach'd to the extremities of the north of* Scotland, *or northern parts of* Britain.

(*a*) *TACITUS*, the moſt ancient author that gives us any account of the northern parts of *Britain*, includes in *Caledonia* all the countries on the north ſide of the *Friths* of *Clyde* and *Forth*. (*b*) *Dio*, in his relation of *Severus*'s expedition into *Caledonia*, gives us much the ſame notion of its extent.

BEDE is no leſs expreſs, that the *Picts*, from their firſt ſettlement in *Britain*, poſſeſſed all the northern parts of it beyond the *Friths*, not only towards the eaſt, but even thoſe parts towards the weſt, which became afterwards, upon the *Scots* coming into *Britain*, their portion or poſſeſſion. For he tells us (*c*) that the *Frith* of *Clyde* was anciently the boundary of the *Britains* and *Picts*; and conſequently he ſays, That the *Scots* at their firſt

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(*a*) Tacit. vit. Agricolæ, p. 233, 234. edit. Lipſ.

(*b*) Dio, p. 867.

(*c*) Eſt autem ſinus maris permaximus, qui antiquitus gentem Britonum a Pictis ſecernebat; qui ab Occidente in terras longo ſpatio erumpit, ubi eſt civitas Britonum munitiſſima uſque hodie, quæ vocatur Alcluith, *Bede*, *l.* 1. *c.* 1. Procedente tempore Britannia poſt Britones & Pictos tertiam Scotorum nationem in Pictorum parte recepit, *ibid.*

coming to *Britain* were received, or took poſſeſſion of a portion of the *Pictiſh* territories, *in parte Pictorum*, at the north ſide of the *Frith* of *Clyde*, which thenceforth became the boundary of the *Scots* and *Britains*, as before the *Scots* coming in, it had been the weſtern boundary of the *Britains* and *Picts*, whoſe territories towards the eaſt had been bounded by the *Frith* of *Forth*.

THE *Picts*, according to (*a*) *Ammian*, were divided in the fourth century into *Deucaledonians* and *Vecturiones*, that is, ſouthern and northern, according to the interpretation of learned, modern criticks. But what is only gueſſed at from the etymology of the names by theſe criticks, is plainly expreſſed by (*b*) *Bede*, where he ſays, the ſouthern *Picts*, converted to chriſtianity by St. *Ninian*, were divided from the northern, whom St. *Columba* converted by a high ridge of hills, which can be no other than the *Grampians*. So that the ſouthern *Picts* were thoſe that dwelt to the ſouth of the *Grampian* hills; and the northern were thoſe *Picts* who inhabited the countries from the ſame hills northwards to the extremities of *Scotland*.

THAT the *Picts* in St. *Columba*'s time, that is in the ſixth century, were ſtill in poſſeſſion of the utmoſt extremities of the north of *Britain*, is far-

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(*a*) Ammian. Marcell. lib. 27.
(*b*) Bede, lib. 3. c. 4.

ther proved from the accounts that *Adamnan* gives us in St. *Columba*'s life of the ſaints journeys to theſe northern *Picts*, whom he converted. And here I cannot but obſerve, that as this life of St. *Columba* by *Adamnan* is, next to *Gildas*'s writings, the moſt ancient hiſtorical piece remaining of a *Britiſh* writer, ſo being received for genuine by the learned in foreign countries, as well as at home, it contains the moſt ancient and authentick account of the *Scotiſh* hiſtory. But before I ſet down thoſe paſſages of *Adamnan*, containing St. *Columba*'s journeys, in order to underſtand them more fully, and to ſet in a clearer light the extent of the *Pictiſh* dominions in thoſe times, to wit, in the ſixth and ſeventh century, it is neceſſary to give a diſtinct view of the names, ſituation, and ſeveral branches of that famous ridge of hills that reaches from one ſide of *North-Britain* to the other.

THESE hills are called by *Tacitus*, and others after him, *Mons Grampius*; whence *Granzebin*, by (*a*) *Adamnan*, *Dorſum Britanniæ*, commonly *Drum-Albayn*, by (*b*) *Bede*, *Ardua & horrentia montium juga*; by an anonymous author of the deſcription of *Albany*, or *Scotland*, cited by *Camden* from a M S. in the *Burghleyan* library, at preſent in the *Colbertin*, from whence it was copied, and is here inſerted in the appendix, *numb.* 1. *Mons qui*

(*a*) Adamn. vit. S. Columb. lib. 2. cap. 46.

(*b*) Bede, ſupra.

Mounth *vocatur qui a mari occidentali uſque ad orientale extenditur.* And by another ſhort deſcription of *Scotland* in the *Cotton* (*a*) library, of the thirteenth age, they are thus explain'd, *Quoddam vaſtum quod vocatur le* Mounth *ubi eſt peſſimum paſſagium ſine cibo.* This laſt paſſage reſpects particularly that branch of theſe hills commonly called the *Cairn* of *Mounth.*

As to their ſituation and branches, it is agreed on by all, that the *Grampian* hills divide *Scotland* into two parts, they running from the eaſt to the weſt. 'Tis alſo agreed, that the ridge of hills, commonly called the *Mounth*, or *Cairn* of *Mounth*, that runs from *Athole* down the ſouth ſide of the river of *Dee* to the eaſt ſea, near *Dunnoter*, is a chief branch of the *Grampians*; and generally the modern deſcriptions of *Scotland* bring the other branch of the *Grampian* hills, which terminates at the weſtern ſea, from *Athole* down thro' *Braid-Albayn*, by *Loch Lomond*, to the *Frith* of *Clyde:* Thus *Boece*, *Buchanan*, &c. nor is there any diſpute about it: but then it muſt be own'd by all that have travelled thro', and conſidered the north-weſtern parts of *Scotland*, that there is no where a more viſible tract of the higheſt hills than from *Athole*, thro' the mountainous parts of *Badenoch* towards the ſea coaſt of *Knoydeart.* So that beſides the weſtern ridge of hills beforementioned, run-

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(*a*) Nero, D. II. 7.

ning from *Athole* through *Braid-Albayn*, and terminating at the *Frith* of *Clyde* near *Dunbarton* in the weſt: we muſt take notice of another branch of the *Grampian* hills extending from thoſe of *Athole* through *Badenoch*, to the ſea coaſt of *Knoydeart*, or *Areſaick*, in the north-weſt. And this laſt branch of *Drum-Albayn*, or the *Grampian* hills, ſeems plainly deſcrib'd by *Adamnan*.

HE informs us that St. *Columba*'s journeys from *Ycolmkill*, going to, and returning from the habitation of *Brude* king of the *Picts*, was by *Logh-Neſs*, which he calls in (*a*) St. *Columba*'s life *Neſæ Fluvius*, and in the following chapter *Neſæ Lacus*; whence it appears, that beſides the ordinary abode of the *Pictiſh* kings, which our hiſtorians fix at *Abernethy* near *Tay*, king *Brude* muſt have had another reſidence, (which *Adamnan* calls there, *Domus regia*; and elſewhere, (*b*) *Munitio regis Brudei)* at the northmoſt end of *Lochneſs*. And ſince ſurely he would not have a dwelling but among his ſubjects, it follows, that his dominions included the moſt northern parts of *Scotland*; 'tis probable they extended even over the *Orknays*, ſince we find in the ſame (*c*) author St. *Columba* at king *Brude*'s court, entreating that king to command the prince *(Regulus)* of the *Orknays* (who was alſo preſent at king *Brude*'s court, and had given hoſtages to the

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(*a*) Adamnan vit. St. Columbæ, lib. 2. cap. 33.

(*b*) Lib. 3. cap. 35.

(*c*) Lib. 2. cap. 42.

king as a pledge of his fidelity) to command him, I ſay, to be favourable to St. *Columba*'s Monks then in *Orknay*.

ADAMNAN, in the ſame place tells us, that king *Brude*'s dwelling, where St. *Columba* met with the prince of *Orknay*, was in regard of *Ycolmkill*, (*trans dorſum Britanniæ*) on the other ſide of *Drum-Albayn*; and ſince, as we have ſeen, it was to the north of *Lochneſs*, it would appear that there muſt have been a branch of *Drum-Albayn*, or the *Grampian*, betwixt *Ycolmkill* and *Lochneſs*, which could not be any part of theſe hills, as our modern writers deſcribe them, but muſt have been a branch of them running from *Athole* to the north-weſtern coaſt, ſuch as we have deſcribed above: and this is yet farther confirm'd by another paſſage of the ſame (*a*) *Adamnan*, where he ſays, that *Drum-Albayn* divided the *Scots* from the *Picts*, (*inter quos* [Pictos & Scotos] *dorſi montis Britannici diſtermini*). So that as that branch of the *Grampians* that goes from *Athole* to *Clyde*, divided the *Scots* from the *Britains* and ſouthern *Picts*, there muſt have been a ſecond branch of it from *Athole*, towards the north-weſtern coaſt of *Knoydeart*, or *Areſaick*, to ſeparate the *Scots* from the northern *Picts*. The third branch of theſe hills ſo well known by the name of *Cairn of Mounth*, was thoſe high hills, that, according

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(*a*) Lib. 2. cap. 46.

to *Bede*, divided the ſouthern *Picts*, converted by *S. Ninian*, from the northern, who received the faith from St. *Columba*. But as to this matter I only offer my conjectures from the paſſages of *Adamnan*, leaving the determination to the learned among our countrymen, who can more eaſily take a view of the places.

MEANTIME, ſuppoſing this ſituation and extent of the *Grampian* hills, it ſeems now no hard matter to determine the bounds of the *Pictiſh* and *Scotiſh* dominions during St. *Columba*'s time, much different from the deſcription that modern writers have given of them. Since the *Scotiſh* kingdom, according to this deſcription of the *Grampians*, muſt have been ſeparated from the *Pictiſh* to the north, by the branch of theſe hills that run from *Athole* towards *Knoydeart*, or *Areſaick*, and to the ſouth-eaſt by another branch of the ſame hills running from *Athole* through *Braid-Albayn* by *Logh-Lomond*, towards the mouth of *Clyde*. Whence it follows, that the kingdom of the *Scots* in *Britain*, called ſometimes (*a*) *Regnum Dalrietæ* or *Dalriedæ*, included in thoſe times all the weſtern iſlands, together with the countries of *Lorn*, *Argyle*, *Knapdayl*, *Cowell*, *Kentyre*, *Lochabyr*, and a part of *Braid-Albayn*, &c. And that the *Pictiſh* kingdom included all the reſt of the north of *Scotland*, from the *Friths* to the *Orknays*. But the

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(*a*) Append. of pieces, n. 3.

marches of theſe two people were very variable, they being always ready to incroach one upon another, as they were more or leſs powerful. Thus (*a*) *Bede* informs us, That upon the death of *Egfrid* king of *Northumberland*, ſlain in battle by the *Picts*, A. D. 685, the *Picts* recover'd a part of their dominions, which the *Scots*, as well as the *Saxons*, had ſeized upon.

HOWEVER, from this account that *Adamnan* gives us of the bounds of the *Scotiſh* and *Pictiſh* dominions in St. *Columba*'s time, it follows, that ſince the iſland *Jona*, was, as it were, in the heart or center of the kingdom of *Scots*, compoſed of the iſlands and mainland, as above, and ſeparated from the *Pictiſh* dominions by ſea and land, it could not have been the *Picts*, as *Bede* relates, but muſt needs have been the *Scots* that gave it to St. *Columba* and his diſciples; which is farther evident from this, that *Adamnan* (who was abbot of *Ycolmkill*, and on the place, and wrote earlier than *Bede*) never ſpeaks of the *Pictiſh* country, but as a country quite diſtinct from that where St. *Columba* dwelt in *Ycolmkill*. Theſe are his words: *Whilſt the holy man St.* Columba *made ſome ſtay in the country of the* Picts, *&c.* Again (*b*) *Whilſt the holy man ſtaid ſome months in the* Pictiſh *provinces, he was oblig'd to paſs over the water*

(*a*) Bede, lib. 4. cap. 26.

(*b*) Adamnan vita St. Columbæ, lib. 2. cap. 11.

of Neſs, *or* Lochneſs. He hath much the ſame expreſſions, *c.* 32, and elſewhere; and always ſuppoſes the country of the *Picts* a ſtrange country, where St. *Columba* uſed to travel and remain, only as his miſſion call'd him; whereas, if *Jona* had belong'd to the *Picts*, he would never have mention'd their country as a diſtinct dominion, where he was from home; as he no where mentions the country of the *Scots* in *Britain* as a ſtrange country, in regard of his monaſtery in *Jona*. On the contrary we find the iſland of *Jona* always mentioned by *Adamnan*, as being in the kingdom of the *Scots* in *Britain*, and the inhabitants of it as ſubjects of the king of the *Scots*. There it was (*a*) that St. *Columba* inaugurated *Aydan*, king of the *Scots*: there St. *Columba*, with his monks, pray for victory to king *Aydan* as their (*b*) ſovereign: there king *Aydan* (*c*) conſults the ſaint which of his ſons was to live to be his ſucceſſor. In fine, the northern *Picts* were not chriſtians when St. *Columba* came firſt to *Britain*; and their king (*d*) *Brude* being as yet a *Pagan*, ſhut his gates againſt the ſaint, when he firſt went to viſit him; ſo far were the *Picts* at his coming from giving him poſſeſſions; whereas the *Scots* being chriſtians long before, received him with all reſpect, and gave him a place of abode: and accor-

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(*a*) Lib. 3. cap. 5.
(*b*) Lib. 1. cap. 8.
(*c*) Lib. 1. cap. 9.
(*d*) Lib. 2. cap. 35.

dingly, at his firſt landing in (*a*) *Britain*, he applied to *Conal*, king of the *Scots*, by whom there's no doubt but the monaſtery of *Jona* was founded: and in effect the moſt authentick (*b*) annals that the *Iriſh* have, ſuch as thoſe of *Tigernac* and of *Ulſter*, mention expreſly, that the iſland of *Hy* or *Jona*, was given to St. *Columba* by this king *Conal*, ſon of *Comgall*; and there's no reaſon to diſtruſt theſe annals in a matter of this kind. As to (*c*) *Bede's* aſcribing to the *Picts* the donation of *Jona* to St. *Columba*, he being a ſtranger, and living at a diſtance from theſe parts, and having had his accounts of *Ycolmkill* only by hearſay, his authority on this ſubject ought not to be put in the balance with that of *Adamnan*, who was himſelf abbot of *Ycolmkill*, near St. *Columba's* time, and one of his ſucceſſors; and beſides, had his information from thoſe who lived with the ſaint, and from the originals in the monaſtery itſelf. And all that can be ſaid to apologize for *Bede* is, that ſuppoſing, as he does, in the beginning of his hiſtory, that all thoſe weſtern countries and iſles belonged originally to the *Picts*, from whom the *Scots* had them by favour or force at their firſt entry in *Britain*; and ſeeing St. *Columba* was chiefly deſtined to preach the Goſpel to the *Picts*, he ſuppoſed naturally, that the *Picts* had in gratitude

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(*a*) Lib. 1. cap. 7.
(*b*) Uſſer. antiq. p. 367.
(*c*) Bede, lib. 3. cap. 4.

made the donation of *Jona* to him and his diſciples.

BUT to return now, and conclude what we find in after-times of the extent of the *Pictiſh* dominions towards the north. It appears by contemporary authors, that the *Picts* continued in poſſeſſion of the northern provinces of *Scotland* till their union in one kingdom with the *Scots* in the ninth century. 1°. (*a*) *Nennius*, however uncertain his authority may be as to ancient tranſactions, he may be ſurely depended on in the account he gives of the inhabitants of the iſland in his own time. He wrote, *A. D.* 832, as his chronicle ſhews, that is, a very few years before the union of the *Scots* and *Picts*, which probably he lived to ſee. This author, ſpeaking of the firſt ſettlement of the *Picts* in *Britain*, ſays, they ſeiz'd firſt the *Orknay* iſlands, and thence poſſeſſed themſelves of many countries to the left ſide of *Britain*, that is to ſay of the *North*, (as he explains himſelf, *cap.* 10. *Picti de Aquilone*) and poſſeſs them to this day. And elſewhere the ſame *Nennius* ſpeaking of the *Orknay* iſlands, ſays, they are beyond

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(*a*) Nennius hiſt. Briton. cap. 5. p. 99. edit. Gal. Picti venerunt & occupaverunt inſulas quæ Orcades vocantur, & poſtea ex inſulis finitimis vaſtaverunt, non modicas & multas regiones in ſiniſtrali plaga Britanniæ, & manent uſque in hodiernum diem.

Tertia inſula ſita eſt in extremo limite orbis Britanniæ ultra Pictos, & vocatur Orcania inſ. *Nennius, cap.* 2. *p.* 98.

yond the *Picts*. Now if the *Picts* had poſſeſſed only the countries to the ſouth of the *Grampian*, and the *Scots* thoſe to the north, he would have ſaid the *Orknays* were beyond the *Scots*, and not as he does, beyond the *Picts*.

THE ſecond proof of the *Picts* being in poſſeſſion of all the *North*, till their union with the *Scots*, may be taken from the life of St. *Findan*, who lived in the ninth age, written by an author of the time, and companion of the ſaint, and printed by (a) *Goldaſtus*, as an authentick monument. This author relates, that St. *Findan* was led away captive out of *Ireland* by the *Normans* or *Danes*, about the end of the eighth century; and that in going from *Ireland* to *Denmark*, they came to certain Iſlands called the *Orknays*, in the neighbourhood of the *Pictiſh* nation, *ad quaſdam venere inſulas, juxta Pictorum gentem, quas Orcades vocant.* It is to be remarked, that as the author, who was a companion of St. *Findan*, obſerves, this happen'd about the end of the eighth century, that is, about fifty years before the union of the *Picts* and *Scots*; by which it appears plainly, that the *Picts* remained in poſſeſſion of the utmoſt extremities of the north of *Scotland*, as long as their monarchy laſted in their own name.

(*a*) Allemanicarum rerum ſcriptores vetuſti ex bibliotheca Goldaſti, A. D. 1606. edit. vita S. Findani, p. 318.

§. 2. *Extent of the* Pictiſh *dominions towards the ſouth, on this ſide of the* Friths *of* Clyde *and* Forth.

To ſet in a clearer light what we have to ſay of the extent of the *Pictiſh* dominions, on the ſouth ſide of the *Friths*, in the *debateable* lands, we ſhall conſider the ſtate of the *Picts* in three different epochs; 1°. From the firſt mention we meet with in hiſtory of the *Caledonians*, or *Picts*, till the coming in of the *Saxons*. 2°. From thence till the death of *Egfrid* king of *Northumberland*, killed in battle by the *Picts*, A. D. 685. 3°. From *Egfrid*'s death, till the union of the *Picts* and *Scots* in one monarchy, under *Keneth the Great*.

As to the ſtate of the *Caledonians*, or *Picts*, in the *firſt epoch*, the *Roman* writers *Tacitus* and *Dio*, as we have already ſhewn, limit, in the moſt ancient times, the bounds of *Caledonia* to the ſouth, at the *Friths* of *Clyde* and *Forth*. (*a*) *Bede* alſo makes theſe *Friths* the boundary of the *Picts* to the ſouth, at their firſt ſettlement in *Britain*, and (*b*) even long afterwards; but that did not hinder this warlike people, ſtill in motion, and ready to catch at all opportunities of extending their dominion over the *Midland Britains* in the *debateable* lands, betwixt the walls, to make frequent ſettle-

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(*a*) Bed. l. 1. c. 1, and 12.
(*b*) Bed. l. 4. c. 26.

ments there; and tho' often beat out of them by the *Romans*, to return ſtill with new vigour, (as we may have occaſion to ſhew in the ſecond part of this eſſay) till at laſt, about the year 426, after the *Romans* laſt farewell to *Britain*, the *Picts* took peaceable poſſeſſion of all theſe *Midland* provinces, up to the (*a*) *Northumbrian* wall, at leaſt towards the eaſtern coaſt, obliging the remains of the provincial *Britains* of theſe parts to be either ſubject to them, or retire partly to the *South Britains*, partly towards the weſtern coaſts, about *Galloway*, *Clydeſdale*, and *Dunbritton*; and thus the bounds of the *Picts*, towards the ſouth, remained till the coming in of the *Saxons*, about the year 449.

Epoch 2. IT would, at firſt, ſeem that the *Saxons*, in the beginning, did not moleſt the *Picts* in the poſſeſſion of the *Midland* provinces, ſince, after the firſt battles which the *Saxons* fought with advantage againſt the *Picts* and *Scots*, in defence of the *Britains*, the *Saxons* ſoon made peace with the *Picts*, in order to turn their arms againſt the *Britains* themſelves: but (*b*) *Bede* remarks, that this peace was not made with the *Picts*, till the *Saxons* had firſt driven them away at a diſtance, and apparently poſſeſs'd themſelves of a part of what the *Picts* had conquer'd from the

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(*a*) Gildas, c. 12.

(*b*) Inito ad tempus fœdere cum Pictis quos bello longius pepulerant, in Socios arma vertere incipiunt. *Bed.* l. c. 15.

Britains; and (if we may truſt to *Nennius*'s relation) the *Saxons* forced back the *Picts* to the *Friths*, and made themſelves maſters of the moſt part of the *Midland* country. For (*a*) *Nennius* tells us, that beſides the other ſupplies that came to the *Saxons*, *Hengiſtus* their leader, under pretence of fighting againſt the *Scots*, call'd in forty veſſels, (*Chiulæ*) laden with *Saxons*, under the command of *Ochta* and *Abiſa*, who, after having ſailed about the *Picts*, and ravaged the *Orknays*, came and took poſſeſſion of many countries on the ſouth-ſide of the *Friths*, [*trans mare Freſicum*] that is, betwixt the *Britains* and the *Scots*, to the confines of the *Picts*. Whatever truth there be in this narration of *Nennius*, *Engliſh* writers pretend that the *Saxons* got, by degrees, ſuch a footing in theſe *Midland* provinces, that they made ſome of them, in after-ages, a part of the kingdom of *Bernicia*, which, as they ſay, extended from the river *Theyſs*, towards the *Scotiſh* ſea, or *Frith*. This kingdom was ſet up in *A. D.* 547, by *Ida*. But to leave the diſcuſſion of this matter to its proper place, in the mean time it does not appear that the *Picts* of theſe parts were expelled, but ſtill remained uneaſy under the *Saxons* uſurpation, ready on all opportunities to recover their poſſeſſions, as ap-

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(*a*) [*Hengiſtus*] invitavit Ochta & Abiſa cum 40 Chiulis. At ipſi cum navigarent circa Pictos, vaſtaverunt Orchades inſ. veneruntque & occupaverunt plurimas regiones trans mare Freſicum, *i. e.* quod inter nos Scotoſque eſt, uſque ad confinia Pictorum. *Nennius*, cap. 37. p. 107.

pear'd when, *A. D.* 670, the king of the *Picts*, with a great army, intending to recover his territories on the ſouth of the *Forth*, invaded king *Egfrid*, but was defeated by the *Saxons*, with a great ſlaughter of the *Picts*; ſo that the *Picts* dwelling in the midland provinces, remained under ſubjection till *A. D.* 685, that (*a*) *Egfrid* himſelf, having invaded the *Pictiſh* territories, was kill'd in battle, with the greateſt part of his army, by the *Picts*, under the conduct of their king *Brude* (*b*), ſon of *Derili* : and here ends the *ſecond epoch* of the *Pictiſh* ſettlement, to the ſouth of the *Friths*.

Third Epoch. AFTER the death of *Egfrid*, as the appendix to *Nennius* tells us, not only the *Saxons* never attempted any more to exact tribute of the *Picts* dwelling in the *Midland* countries; but, as *Bede* (*c*) remarks, from that time the courage and vigour of the *Saxons* ſtill decay'd : ſo that the *Picts* recover'd their ancient territories to the ſouth of the *Friths*, and (*d*) reduced the kingdom of *Alfrid*, ſucceſſor to *Egfrid*, into narrower bounds. The *Picts* having thus got footing again on this ſide of the *Friths*, took advantage of the *Saxons* weakneſs and diviſions, and daily made new progreſs in recovering their ſouthern territories betwixt the walls. So we ſee, *A. D.* 710,

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(*a*) Bed. l. 4. c. 26.

(*b*) Append. Nennii, p. 116.

(*c*) Bed. l. 4. c. 26.

(*d*) Malmesbur. f. 10. n. 38.

they were advanced as far as *Hefeld*, or *Carehouſe*, near the *Northumbrian* wall, where they gave battle to the *Saxons*.

DURING the reſt of this eighth century, we find the kings of the *Picts* frequently on the ſouth-ſide of the *Friths*, in war, either againſt the *Northumbrian* kings, or joined with them againſt the *Britains* that dwelt in thoſe parts: and ſo powerful were they, that, *A. D.* 773, (*a*) *Aleredus*, king of *Northumberland*, fled to the king of the *Picts* for refuge; and, *A. D.* 794, *Osbald*, another of the *Northumbrian* kings, took the ſame ſhelter. About the end of this age, and the beginning of the next, the *Picts* poſſeſſed themſelves of *Galloway*: and we (*b*) find, that at the time of the union with the *Scots*, the *Picts* were in poſſeſſion of all the *Midland* territories, from *Twede* to the *Scotiſh* ſea, or *Friths*; all which king *Keneth* poſſeſſed himſelf of, as well in the right of the *Picts*, to whoſe crown he ſucceeded, as by that of conqueſt. And thus having united the *Pictiſh* kingdom, from *Orknay* to *Twede* and *Galloway*, to that of the *Scots*, he was the firſt monarch of all *Scotland* or *Albany*; but of this elſewhere: and this may ſuffice at preſent as to the extent of the *Pictiſh* kingdom, both to the north and ſouth.

(*a*) Scriptor. Ang. col. 107. n. 34. & col. 113. n. 54.
(*b*) Polychron. p. 194, 199, 204, 207, 210.

Art. VI. *Of the nature or form of the* Pictiſh *government.*

As to the form of the *Pictiſh* government, the ſeries that we have of their kings, and frequent mention of them in ancient hiſtory, prove it was monarchical. But whether in the moſt ancient times, and from the firſt ſettlement of the *Caledonians* or *Picts* in *Britain*, they were always governed by kings, cannot, at ſo great a diſtance of time, and in ſuch want of ancient monuments, be otherwiſe determined than by probable conjectures from the common cuſtoms of other nations, and of thoſe of *Britain* in particular, in thoſe early times.

In general, the beginning of all governments is from a kind of monarchy: nor can it well be otherwiſe, it being impoſſible to contain a rude multitude, ſuch as all nations were in their origine, by common council, or keep them united in one body or ſtate, otherwiſe than by the awe of a leader or commander; nor are the republican ſchemes fitted but to a people already in ſome meaſure poliſh'd (*a*) by a monarchical government. (*b*) And indeed the beginnings of all governments that we meet with in hiſtory, even thoſe who afterwards became famous commonwealths, were from one com-

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(*a*) Tit. Liv. lib. 2. n. 4, 5, 6.
(*b*) Juſtin. hiſt.

mon leader or governor, who being either more aged and experienced, or ſtronger, or wiſer, or by ſome other courſe of divine providence, firſt overawed the multitude, or got the aſcendant over them, ſo as to gain their confidence, their reſpect, and their obedience to his commands and laws. (*a*) Accordingly the moſt ancient accounts we have from the beſt writers inform us, that in the earlieſt times all *Britain* was governed by little kings.

So that on the whole there ſeems no doubt, but that the government of the *Picts* or *Caledonians* was monarchical from the beginning; but whether their country *Caledonia*, in the firſt times, was divided into little ſtates, whereof each had its king; or whether all under one common commander, can be only gueſſed at; and ſo it were uſeleſs to enquire into it, having no monuments of thoſe times. *Fordun* (*b*) tells us, that whereas the ſeries of their kings began at *Cruythne*, the ſon of *Kynne*, before his time, the *Picts* were governed by judges: and though even that would be an ancient origine of their monarchy, ſince it reaches ſome ages before the incarnation, yet the notion of judges ſeeming new and foreign, 'tis likely it was only invented to give a preference in antiquity to the *Scotiſh* monarchy over that of the *Picts*; it being otherwiſe generally owned, even by the *Sco-*

(*a*) Diodor. Sicul. lib. 6. cap. 7. Strab. lib. 4. p. 200. Pomp. Mela, lib. 3. cap. 6.

(*b*) Lib. 1. cap. 36.

tiſh hiſtorians,that claim the higheſt antiquity to the *Scots*, that their ſettlement in *Britain* was poſterior to that of the *Picts* : and 'tis very probable, that thoſe firſt rulers of the *Picts* (ſuppoſing there had been any ſuch) under the title of judges, wanted only the name, but had the authority of kings.

4°. (*a*) *TACITUS*, in his account of the *Britains* in general, informs us, that they were wont in former times to have kings, but that in *Agricola*'s time they were much divided in factions by their princes, ſcarce two or three *Cantons* being under one government, or common-council; but this determines nothing as to *Caledonia*, and at moſt might have been but a caſual anarchy, founded upon rebellion or ſedition: and *Tacitus*, tho' he does not give to *Galgacus*, leader of the *Caledonians*, the name of king, yet he in ſome manner deſcribes him as ſuch; ſince he tells us, that among all the commanders of the *Caledonians*, *Galgacus* was the chief, not only in valour, but in (*b*) birth and nobility: and it is probable, the neceſſity the *Caledonians* were under, in following times, to oppoſe the *Roman* encroachments, would contribute to heal their inteſtine diſſentions, and reſtore monarchical government, in caſe it had met with any interruption. In the reſt of the *Roman*

(*a*) [*Brit.*] olim regibus parebant, nunc per principes factionibus & ſtudiis trahuntur. *Tacit. vit. Agric. p.* 231. *edit. Lipſ.*

(*b*) Virtute & genere præſtans, *Tacit. ib. fol.* 234.

wars againſt the *Caledonians* or *Picts*, the *Romans* ſeem very little informed of their government, being ſcarce ever accuſtomed to treat with them, but as enemies to the empire, whom they endeavoured to keep at as great a diſtance as they could: ſo 'tis no wonder that we have from them no account of the kings of the *Picts*, which we might have expected, had any of them been taken by the *Romans*, as was *Caractacus*, king of the *Silures* under *Claudius*.

ART VII. *Of the antiquity of the* Pictiſh *monarchy, and of the number and ſeries of their kings.*

NOTWITHSTANDING the diſaſters that happened to the ancient and once famous nation of the *Caledonians* or *Picts*, by which not only the records and monuments of their hiſtory were deſtroyed, but the people themſelves ſo far eclipſed, as to give occaſion to later writers to alledge, that they were all cut off: yet there ſtill remains ſufficient proofs of their ſurviving the ninth age, and ſtill ſubſiſting both as to the royal ſucceſſion, and as to the people themſelves, though no more, for theſe ſeveral paſt ages, known by their own proper name, but by the common name of *Scots*, with whom they were incorporated. This we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew afterwards; at preſent my intention is to prove, that the *Picts* laid claim to as ancient a monarchy, and high ſucceſſion of kings, and with as great probability as either of their neighbours, the *Britains* of the ſouth, or the *Iriſh*; and this with the allowance of theſe laſt.

FOR thoſe *Iriſh* authors, who aſſert the antiquity of their own country and monarchy in the *Mileſian* line, maintain alſo that of the *Pictiſh*; the one and the other being equally atteſted, as (*a*) they aſſure us, by all thoſe ancient books on which the credit of their own remote antiquities is chiefly grounded: ſuch as *Pſaltair Caſhell*, *Leabhair-Dromnaſnacta*, *Lecan*, &c. all which agree, according to the moſt learned of their modern writers, That the *Pictiſh* monarchy in *North Britain* began at the time of their king *Herimon*, ſon to *Mileſius*, whom they place in the eleventh or twelfth, and ſome of them in the thirteenth century, before the birth of Chriſt; and that the *Picts* had ſeventy kings of their own nation, from *Cathluan* (ſo the *Iriſh* call the firſt king of the *Picts*) to *Conſtantine*, who reigned about the end of the eighth age; about whoſe time 'tis probable the *Iriſh* receiv'd this account of the *Pictiſh* monarchy whilſt it ſubſiſted as yet in ſplendor. The ſame account of the *Picts* is given by the book of (*b*) *Lecan* (ſo famous among the *Iriſh*) in theſe words, as *Flaherty* relates them; *Gud & filius Cathluanus duces Pictorum in Hyberniam ad Inverſlainge in Hykenſalia: Crimthano Rege Lageniæ,*

(*a*) Keating, p. 120, 121, 122, &c. Colgan not. in vit. S. Patric. Ward. vit. S. Rumoldi, p. 371. Flaherty Ogyg. p. 190.

(*b*) Lecan, f. 287. apud Flaherty Ogyg. Domeſtica, p. 190.

& Herimone ſuper Hyberniam regnante. Cathluanus ille primus ſeptuaginta regum Albaniæ ad Conſtantinum uſque.

THOUGH the modern *Iriſh* writers have frequently mentioned this number of ſeventy *Pictiſh* kings to the reign of *Conſtantine*, yet none of them have thought fit hitherto to give us the names and ſeries of theſe kings; only (*a*) *Lynch* ſets down the names and ſucceſſion of the *Pictiſh* kings from *Brude* ſon of *Meilochon*, that is from the year 556, and downwards, till *Brede* or *Brude*, their laſt king, with the years of their reigns: and *Lynch* tells us, that he had this catalogue from an *Iriſh* copy of *Nennius*, the *Britiſh* hiſtorian.

NOW, however uncertain may be the teſtimony of theſe *Iriſh* books, or other monuments, in what they relate of their own remote antiquity, (into which we ſhall hereafter have occaſion to enquire) 'tis generally affirmed by the beſt (*b*) writers of that nation, that the *Pſaltair Caſhell* is the work of *Cormac Culenan*, who died in the beginning of the tenth century; and (*c*) *Keating* aſſures us, that this account of the LXX *Pictiſh* kings, and of their Monarchies beginning in *Herimon*'s time, is taken from an *Iriſh* poem inſerted in *Pſaltair Caſhel*, and by conſequence written be-

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(*a*) Lynch Cambren. Everſus, p. 93.
(*b*) Waræus de ſcriptorib. Hybern. p. 47.
(*c*) Kealing, p. 123.

fore it. The *Book of Conqueſts*, *Lebhargabhala*, which, according to (*a*) *Flaherty*, gives the ſame account of the *Picts*, though to be ſure it is not more ancient than St. *Patrick* (as a late (*b*) *Iriſh* writer affirms) yet it may be allowed to have been written about the ninth age, and whilſt the *Pictiſh* monarchy was as yet ſubſiſting. Whence it follows, that ſince the *Iriſh* could have no private motive of their own, to invent this ſtory of the antiquity of the *Pictiſh* ſettlement and monarchy; and thus to put a foreign people on a level with themſelves, in the two qualities upon which they chiefly valued themſelves, that is, the antiquity of their ſettlement, and that of their monarchy; it follows, I ſay, from this, that the *Iriſh* writers muſt have had good information; and that, in all appearance, from the *Picts* themſelves, ſtill ſubſiſting in a ſeparate, diſtinct monarchy, under their own kings, when at leaſt the moſt ancient of theſe *Iriſh* pieces was written. So upon the whole, theſe teſtimonies of the *Iriſh* writers ſufficiently prove, that the *Picts* claimed as ancient a ſettlement and monarchy in *Britain*, as the *Iriſh* do in *Ireland*; and that on ſo good grounds, that the *Iriſh* antiquaries, ſo jealous of thoſe prerogatives, were equally perſuaded of it.

BUT, for a farther proof that what is advanced by the *Iriſh* antiquaries of the antiquity of the

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(*a*) Ogyg. p. 188.

(*b*) D. Ken. pref. 25, 26.

monarchy and number of the *Pictiſh* kings in *Britain*, was no invention of the *Iriſh* bards, but the *Picts* own opinion of themſelves, there is ſtill extant an abſtract of an ancient chronicle of the *Picts*, under this title, *Chronica de Origine Antiquorum Pictorum*, which agrees entirely with the account that the *Iriſh* give of them, both as to the number of LXX kings before *Conſtantine*, and as to the antiquity of the *Pictiſh* monarchy in *Britain*, and differs only in one name; that whereas this chronicle, and all the *Scotiſh* writers, call the firſt king of the *Picts*, *Cruithne*; the *Iriſh* call him *Cathluan*, which may be only two names for the ſame perſon; as the patriarch of the *Iriſh*, *Mileſius*, was otherwiſe called *Gallamh* or *Gollamh*.

IN this ancient piece, or chronicle of the *Picts*, after a preface taken, for the moſt part from *Iſidore* of *Sevile*'s book of *Origines*, there is a ſeries or ſucceſſion of the *Pictiſh* kings, containing ſeventy kings to *Conſtantine*, with the years of their reigns; which all ſummed up, amount at leaſt to ten or eleven centuries before the incarnation, which is the date the *Iriſh* commonly give to the beginning of *Herimon* their firſt king of *Ireland*, during whoſe reign they aſſure us, that the monarchy of the *Picts* in *Britain* was founded.

THIS *Chronica de Origine Antiquorum Pictorum*, bears that title in great red letters in the MS. in which I found it. This MS. belonged formerly to ſecretary *Cecil*, Lord *Burghley*, afterwards lord high treaſurer of *England*, and his name is upon it, written with his own hand. It was in his poſſeſſion when *Camden* peruſed it, and extracted ſeveral paſſages from it, to be ſeen in the later editions which he publiſhed of his *Britannia*, in the deſcription of *Scotland*. *Cecil*'s library being afterwards put to ſale, this (*a*) MS. with ſeveral others, was bought up by order of Mr. *Colbert*, miniſter of ſtate to the late king of *France*, who employed, in making his rich collection of MSS. conſiſting of above eight thouſand volumes, the famous M. *Baluze*, by whoſe means I came to the knowledge of this MS. and ſome other ancient pieces relating to *Scotland*. The title of *Chronica*, which this ſhort piece bears, was commonly given by writers of after-ages to pieces, however ſhort, that contained any ſeries of facts, with their dates, or catalogues of kings, with the years of their reigns. This MS. ſeems to be written above 400 years ago; and contains ſome other pieces relating to *Scotland*, which will be found with this, in the appendix to this eſſay. I am lately informed, that this whole MS. library of Mr. *Colbert*, is bought up by the king of *France* to be added to the royal library.

We have alſo catalogues of the *Pictiſh* kings from the *Scotiſh* writers. The accounts they give us of the names, number, and years of theſe

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(*a*) Cod. 3120. Biblioth. MS. Colbertin Pariſ.

kings, may be all reduced to two principal ſources, whence they are derived. The firſt is the old regiſter of St. *Andrew*'s, which certainly, if we had it correct, would be preferable to any other account given by the *Scots*, by reaſon that the church of St. *Andrew*, being founded by the *Picts*, would probably be more careful than any other to preſerve their memory, ſo far as it did not ſeem to leſſen, or interfere with the honour of the *Scots*, according to the way of thinking or prejudice of thoſe times, by which it was thought a derogation from the honour of the *Scots* to grant the *Picts* a priority or preference in an ancient ſettlement or monarchy in *Britain*, to themſelves. From this regiſter, or other monuments of St. *Andrew*'s, are, no doubt, derived the imperfect account of the *Pictiſh* kings, given by *Winton*, canon of St. *Andrew*'s, and prior of *Lochlevin*, and the catalogue ſet down by *James Gray*, of which elſewhere. The anonymous author of the hiſtory of the *Picts*, printed by *Freebairn*, A. D. 1706, hath given alſo a catalogue of the *Pictiſh* kings, but moſt incorrect and disfigured, taken, he ſays, from two ancient records of St. *Andrew*'s and *Lochlevin*: which, notwithſtanding the contempt with which that author ſpeaks of them, would have been probably of greater uſe to the *Pictiſh* hiſtory, if given correctly, than all his performance grounded chiefly on *H. Boece*'s hiſtory. This ſeries of the *Pictiſh* kings, from the regiſter of St. *Andrew*'s, in the copy of it ſent me ſome years ago by Sir *Robert Sybbald*, M. D.

M. D. reckons only fifty-two *Pictiſh* kings, from *Cruythne* till *Conſtantine*, that is eighteen kings leſs than the abſtract of the *Pictiſh* chronicle, and the *Iriſh* antiquaries: and it brings down the firſt ſettlement of the *Picts* in *Britain*, to put it on a level, or rather place it an age or two later than that of the *Scots*. The other ſource of the catalogues of the *Pictiſh* kings is *Fordun*, followed by later *Scotiſh* writers; he reckons ſix kings more than the regiſter of St. *Andrew*'s, in all fifty-eight, from *Cruythne* to *Conſtantine*; there being added here and there ſome names that are neither in that regiſter, nor in the *Pictiſh* chronicle: and among others, *Hurguſt*, the ſon of *Fergus* or *Forgſo*, in the fourth age, to make the catalogue agree with *Fordun*'s own chronicle, which places the coming in of *Regulus* to *North Britain*, with the relicks of St. *Andrew*, under king *Hurguſt*, during the reign of the emperor *Conſtantius*, for no other reaſon, that I can gueſs at, but becauſe in this emperor's time the relicks of St. *Andrew* and St. *Luke* were, in the year of our LORD 357, removed to *Conſtantinople*: whereas it is more likely, as it will appear when we come to treat of it, that the coming in of St. *Andrew*'s relicks to *Scotland*, or rather to *Pictland*; and the foundation of *Kilrimunt* or St. *Andrew*'s, were of a much later date than *Fordun* places them.

NOW, as to the uſe of all theſe different catalogues, towards regulating the chronology of

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the *Pictiſh* kings; in the firſt place, a great difference ought to be made betwixt what theſe catalogues contain before, and what they ſet down after the times that chriſtianity was preached among the *Picts* of the ſouth by St. *Ninian*, towards the beginning of the fifth age, and among the northern *Picts*, by St. *Columba*, about the middle of the ſixth age. As to the times preceding their chriſtianity, tho' their living in the neighbourhood of the *Romans* and provincial *Britains* (ſince theſe embraced the goſpel) either by converſation, or by chriſtian captives, which they frequently carried off in their inroads into the *Roman* provinces, might have introduced among the *Caledonians*, or *Picts*, ſome uſe of letters earlier than among others at a greater diſtance from the ſeat of learning: yet having no aſſurance that this was common among the *Picts* before the nation was converted to chriſtianity, and there being no certain means to preſerve hiſtorical facts or dates for any conſiderable length of time, and beyond the memory of men, without the uſe of letters; we do not pretend to give that part of the chronicle of the *Picts* that paſſed before the goſpel was preached to them, as proper materials to build on it hiſtorical facts, or chronological dates; but we give it only as an ancient monument of hiſtory, containing the tradition of that once famous people, concerning the antiquity of their ſettlement and monarchy in *Britain*, before whom there's no memory of any known inhabitants of the north of *Britain*,

Britain, nor any certain *Epoch* of their beginning, or ſettlement there: but reaching up into the dark ages of the depth of antiquity, they may, for what any can ſhew to the contrary, contend in the antiquity of ſettlement and monarchical government with any nation in *Europe*. And even as to the number of their ſeventy kings, I do not ſee but that might have been preſerved by tradition, without the uſe of letters.

As to the ſucceſſion of the *Pictiſh* kings and their chronology, ſince their firſt converſion to chriſtianity, about the beginning of the fifth age, and downwards, two reaſons, in my opinion, render the accounts given of them, by this abſtract of the *Pictiſh* chronicle, preferable by far to thoſe of the *Scots*, either in the regiſter of St. *Andrews*, or in *Fordun*, and their followers. 1°. Becauſe, as I have already obſerved, the abſtract ſeems plainly to have been taken from the chronicles of the *Picts* themſelves, written whilſt their monarchy and nation ſubſiſted as yet by it ſelf, and under their own name in *Britain*: ſo 'tis more ancient than any accounts that the *Scotiſh* writers give of them, and nearer the times. 2°. Becauſe the accounts given of the *Pictiſh* kings, and their chronology in this abſtract, in the times poſterior to their receiving chriſtianity, with the uſe of letters, agree much better than thoſe given by the *Scots*, with all that is recorded of the *Picts* in other ancient *Britiſh* writers that mention them.

For the moſt certain *Æra*, by which all the chronology of the *Pictiſh* kings is to be regulated, depends upon (*a*) *Bede*'s aſſuring us, that the year 565 of Chriſt concurred with the ninth year of the reign of *Brude* ſon of *Meilochon* king of the *Picts*, who was converted to chriſtianity by St. *Columba.* From thence follows, that king *Brude* began his reign *A. D.* 556. This being ſuppoſed as a fix'd *Æra*, to which all agree; and reckoning from this the years of each king of the *Picts*, as they are ſet down in the ſeveral catalogues, it will be eaſy to find out, which of theſe catalogues or accounts of the ſucceſſion of the *Pictiſh* kings are the moſt exact, by their conformity to other ancient writers of *Britain* in the ages following, where we have the ſureſt accounts of the *Picts*.

And firſt, 'tis agreed on by all writers after (*b*) *Bede*, that *Egfrid*, king of *Northumberland*, was kill'd in battle by the *Picts*, *A. D.* 685; and it appears by the appendix to (*c*) *Nennius* that it was by *Brude* king of the *Picts*, who commanded them in this battle, that king *Egfrid* was kill'd. Now this agrees exactly with the chronology of the abſtract of the *Pictiſh* chronicle, according to which

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(*a*) Bede l. 3. c. 4.
(*b*) Bede l. 4. c. 26.
(*c*) Quindecim Scriptores Edit. Gal. Append. Nenn. p. 126.

the reign of *Brude*, ſon of *Bily* king of the *Picts*, began *A. D.* 675, and ended 696. So this Battle fell out during his reign: whereas, according to the chronology of the catalogue of *Fordun* (which gives only eleven years to the reign of this *Brude* ſon of *Bily*, whilſt both the regiſter of St. *Andrew*'s, as well as the chronicle of the *Picts* aſſign twenty one years to his reign) according, I ſay, to *Fordun*'s chronology, *Brude* ſon of *Bily* ended his reign *A. D.* 660, about 25 years before this battle.

2°. *Ceolfrid*, abbot of *Wiremouth*, wrote (*a*) his famous letter about *Eaſter*, and the *Tonſure* to *Naitan* king of the *Picts*, *A. D.* 715. And this agrees perfectly with the chronology of the foreſaid abſtract of the *Pictiſh* chronicle, according to which *Naitan* or *Nectan*, ſon of *Derili* king of the *Picts*, reigned from *A. D.* 711, till *A. D.* 726; whereas, according to *Fordun*'s catalogue, *Naitan* ended his reign *A. D.* 703, and according to the copy of the regiſter of St. *Andrew*'s, ſuch as it was ſent to me, this king *Naitan* did not begin his reign till *A. D.* 747. So they muſt be both wrong, and the abſtract alone exact.

3°. THE death of *Onnuſt* or *Oengus*, ſon of *Hurgus* or *Fergus*, king of the *Picts*, is fix'd to the

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(*a*) Bede l. 5. c. 22.

year 761, by a ſhort chronicle at the end of ſome editions of (*a*) *Bede*, by *Roger* (*b*) *Houeden*, and by (*c*) *Simeon* of *Durham*: now this agrees entirely with the ſupputation of the *Pictiſh* chronicle, according to which the death of this *Onnuſt* or *Oengus* happen'd juſt that year 761. Whereas, according to the chronology of *Fordun*'s catalogue, it would have happen'd, *A. D.* 737. about twenty-four years before its true date: and according to the account of the catalogue of St. *Andrew*'s, *ſuch as I have it*, it would have happen'd about forty years after its true *Epoch*: I ſay, *ſuch as I have it*; for I doubt not but there are many errors and falſe readings in the tranſcript of it that was ſent me, particularly in the numbers.

4°. *KINOTH*, or *Cineoch*, king of the *Picts*, gave a retreat in his kingdom to *Alcred* king of *Northumberland*, expelled out of his kingdom, *A. D.* 774, according to *Roger* (*d*) *Houeden*, and *Simeon Durham*'s chronicles: and yet not only there is no account of this action honourable to the *Picts* in our *Scotiſh* writers; but not ſo much as the name of this *Kinoth* in either of our *Scotiſh* catalogues of the *Pictiſh* kings: but he is to be found in his own rank in the abſtract of the *Pictiſh* chronicle, as well as in that given us by *Lynch* from an ap-

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(*a*) Coloniæ in 8°, A. D. 1609.

(*b*) Scriptor. fol. 231. n. 40.

(*c*) Scriptor. col. 105. n. 50.

(*d*) R. Houeden & Simeon Dunelm. chron. ad *A. D.* 774.

pendix to *Nennius:* and this king *Kinoth*'s death, according to the chronology of that *Pictiſh* chronicle, falls juſt in with the year 775, which perfectly agrees with the chronicles of *Houeden* and *Simeon Dunelm*; but our two *Scotiſh* catalogues, as I ſaid, have not one word of this king *Kinoth*.

THE authority of theſe *Engliſh* chronicles had that weight with (*a*) *Langhorn*, in his chronicle of the *Pictiſh* kings, that he abandons here intirely *Fordun*'s catalogue, which was his only guide, to follow thoſe *Engliſh* writers nearer the times. And the reader may obſerve elſewhere in (*b*) him, that he is at laſt obliged to give over entirely theſe catalogues, not being able to reconcile them to the *Æra* of the end of the *Pictiſh* monarchy and its union with that of the *Scots*, about, or before the year 850: and, having no other guide, he is forced to follow his own conjectures: whereas this famous *Æra* agrees perfectly with the *Pictiſh* ancient chronicle, and *Lynch*'s copy from *Nennius*, as may be proved elſewhere.

MEAN-TIME, what we have ſhewn of the agreement of this ſhort chronicle of the *Pictiſh* kings, with all the beſt monuments of *Britiſh* hiſtory, that mention the *Picts* in thoſe times, is a new confirmation of its being an abſtract of the true *Pictiſh* chronicles, done by their own writers,

(*a*) Langhorn. Antiquit. Albionen. pag. 300.
(*b*) Idem, pag. 301, &c.

ters, whilſt their monarchy was as yet ſubſiſting under their own name; and by conſequence having been writ nearer the times of the tranſactions, it is more to be depended on for the chronology of the *Pictiſh* kings than any catalogue that hath as yet appear'd.

But, as it hath been ſaid, this ought to be underſtood only of the latter part of this chronicle, to wit, the ſucceſſion of their kings, ſince their converſion to chriſtianity, in the fifth and ſixth ages. For as to the firſt part of this chronicle, containing the ſucceſſion of the *Pictiſh* kings before the incarnation, and even what paſt after the incarnation, down till the reign of *Durſt*, ſon of *Irb*, in the beginning of the fifth age; that firſt part, I ſay, cannot be look'd upon as a ſufficient ground of hiſtory. 1°. Becauſe we have no aſſurance that the *Picts* had the uſe of letters among them before their converſion to chriſtianity: and what certainty can be expected of dates and particular facts paſt the memory of men, without the uſe of letters? So all that we can rely upon in the firſt part of that abſtract is the number of LXX. kings before *Conſtantine*, as we remarked already, and at moſt their names, but not the dates, or years of their reigns.

Because in the ſecond place, the incredible length of reigns aſcribed in the firſt part of that abſtract to ſome of theſe ancient *Pictiſh* kings, ſeems to render that part of it, in the condition that we have it, very improper to become the foundation of any certain chronology or hiſtory. So that when I come to treat of the hiſtory of the northern parts of *Britain* or *Scotland* in a chronological order, having unqueſtionable vouchers in the *Roman* writers of what remains there are of the *Caledonian* or *Pictiſh* hiſtory before the fifth age; I ſhall begin the chronological ſucceſſion of the *Pictiſh* kings no earlier, at moſt, than about the reign of *Durſt*, ſon of *Erb* or *Irb*, that is, from about the beginning of the fifth age and downwards, to the converſion of *Brude*, ſon of *Meilochon*, or *Melcothon*, A. D. 565; from whence, as from a fix'd *Æra*, down to the end of the *Pictiſh* monarchy, or its union with that of the *Scots*, we have in this abſtract an exact ſucceſſion of theſe kings confirmed by, and conformable, as we have ſhewn, to the beſt accounts that we have of them from the *Engliſh* writers.

BUT that the reader may judge by himſelf of this whole matter, I ſhall, 1°. In the appendix to this eſſay, give this abſtract of the *Pictiſh* chronicles whole and entire, ſuch as I found it in the MS. already mentioned, without any addition or alteration, together with ſome other ancient pieces: being perſuaded that nothing hath been more hurtful to the truth of our hiſtory, than the ſmothering, by contempt or neglect, ancient pieces relating to it; becauſe, either

ther their barbarous *Latin* ſtile did not pleaſe the taſte of our modern writers, or that the diſcoverers, finding ſuch pieces claſh with their new ſchemes of our hiſtory and antiquities, ſtifled them as uſeleſs or hurtful: whereas in the darkneſs we are in, and in the ſcarcity of hiſtorical monuments we labour under, by the many repeated diſaſters befallen them at different times, as we ſhall ſhew elſewhere, every ancient piece ought to be preſerved; that by comparing them one with another, and with other certain accounts, ſome farther light may be had of the ſtate of the northern inhabitants of *Britain* in ancient times.

2°. I ſhall, at the end of this article, ſet down the full catalogue of the *Pictiſh* kings, with the years aſſigned to each of their reigns in the abſtract, both before and after the fifth age, down till the end of their monarchy: not that I ſuppoſe any certain account can be had of the ſucceſſion of their kings (no more than of any other of the northern nations, not ſubject to the *Roman* empire) before they began with the preaching of the goſpel to have the uſe of letters, as I have ſaid; but that it may appear that the ancient people of the *Caledonians* or *Picts*, as they had their bards or antiquaries as well as the *Britains* and *Iriſh*, ſo they were not behind-hand with them in ſetting up for as ancient a ſettlement and ſucceſſion of kings, and upon as good grounds; which would have, no doubt, appeared, if the

Picts had continued to ſubſiſt in a diſtinct body of people till more poliſh'd times, to have rectified and reduced to the order of chronology (as others have done) the rude draughts of the ancient ſucceſſion of their kings, compoſed by their bards in times of ignorance, ſuch as we have them in the firſt part of this abſtract.

AND after all, it cannot be doubted but that the *Picts*, whilſt their kingdom ſubſiſted, had hiſtorical monuments, in all appearance, as valuable as thoſe of the old *Britains*, or of the *Iriſh* : ſince we find mention made of the ancient annals of the *Picts*, as well as of the *Scots*, in a piece written in the twelfth age, to be found in the (*a*) appendix. And (*b*) *Fordun* ſays he had his accounts of them from ancient monuments : and he ſpeaks elſewhere of their chronicles and (*c*) hiſtories ; but at the overturning the kingdom of the *Picts*, and general devaſtation made in it by the *Scots* in the heat of the laſt wars, their chronicles, and other ancient records, ſacred and civil, generally periſh'd, and nothing (that we can hear of) remained, but this imperfect abſtract of the ſucceſſion of their kings.

AND even as to this abſtract, having met with no other copy of the firſt part of it, that is, in

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(*a*) Append. n. 1.

(*b*) De veterum voluminibus, *Ford. l.* 4. *c.* 9.

(*c*) Ex eorum (Pictorum) chronicis & hiſtoriis colligitur, *Ford. l.* 3. *c.* 53.

in the times preceding their converſion to chriſtianity; and there being viſible errors in this, eſpecially in the exorbitant number of years aſſigned to ſome of the reigns of the kings in thoſe ancient times, and no means left to correct them without the help of a more exact copy: I ſhall, as to the chronology of theſe kings, follow the example of the learned Sir *James* (*a*) *Ware*, in the account he has given us of the kings of *Ireland*, before *Loegaire*, their firſt king that embraced the chriſtian religion in the fifth age; and for the ſame reaſon, to wit, the uncertainty of all that paſt before they received with chriſtianity the uſe of letters, I ſhall, I ſay, in the ſeries I am to ſet down of them at the end of this article, begin the chronology of the *Pictiſh* kings no higher than the time of their firſt converſion to chriſtianity in the fifth age, and content myſelf to ſet down from the abſtract the bare names of the kings preceding that age, with the years aſſigned in the abſtract to each of their reigns, leaving the task of calculating them, and reducing them to the order of chronology to thoſe, who in after-times may happen to light upon other copies, by which this may be corrected.

And that there are other copies, appears by the account that *Lynch* gives us in his book, inti-

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(*a*) Ad prædeceſſores Loegarii quod attinet, eos certe conſilio omiſi, quia pleraque quæ de iis traduntur (ut quod ſentio dicam) aut fabulæ ſunt, vel fabulis & anachroniſmis mirè admixta. *Waræus de antiq. Hybern. cap.* 4. *p.* 20.

tled, (*a*) *Cambrenſis everſus*; where he not only aſſures us that he found one of them in a MS. of *Nennius*, the *Britiſh* hiſtorian, but ſets down the compleat catalogue of the *Pictiſh* kings, from *Brude* ſon of *Meilochon*, converted by St. *Columba*: and for a proof, that the catalogue which *Lynch* had before him was the ſame with this in the abſtract, if he had thought fit to give it us entire, the latter part, which is all that he ſets down, agrees perfectly with that of the abſtract from king *Brude* down to their union with the *Scots*, not only in the names, but in the order of ſucceſſion; and, making allowance for ſome few faults of tranſcribers, in the number of years aſſigned to each king's reign. And for a farther proof that *Lynch*'s catalogue and that of the abſtract were the ſame, they agree in every thing in which the catalogue of St. *Andrew*'s, and that of *Fordun*, differ from that of the abſtract.

AND I make no doubt, but that if ſufficient enquiry were made, either this copy that *Lynch* made uſe of, might be as yet found, or ſome other of thoſe that the *Iriſh* writers mention: for it is by no means credible, that the chief *Iriſh* ancient writers would have been ſo unanimous (as (*b*) we have ſeen they are) in aſſerting the number of theſe ſeventy *Pictiſh* kings, from the beginning down to *Conſtantine*, no more than in raiſing the

(*a*) Cambren. everſus, pag. 93.

(*b*) Supra, p. 95.

beginning of the *Pictiſh* monarchy as high as that of their own kings of the *Mileſian* race, if they had not had, at the time they wrote, at leaſt catalogues ſuch as this, and other ancient monuments of it: ſince they could have no national intereſt or motive, to aſcribe to a foreign people the ſame privilege they chiefly value themſelves upon, of being one of the moſt ancient monarchies in the world.

NOW, that the accounts of the *Pictiſh* kings which the *Iriſh* writers had in view were the ſame with thoſe of the abſtract, will appear in the catalogue, I am to ſet down from it, by two marks or characters which the *Iriſh* writers give us: the one is the preciſe number of ſeventy kings till *Conſtantine*, who reigned in the end of the eighth, and beginning of the ninth age; the other is, that the beginning of the *Pictiſh* monarchy reach'd as high as that of the *Iriſh* kings of the *Mileſian* race, from *Heremon:* and this ſecond character of them will appear to thoſe that will be at the pains to ſum up together the years aſſigned in this abſtract to each of theſe kings, to *Cruithne* the firſt king, from the ninth year of king *Brude* ſon of *Meilochon*, which anſwering, according to *Bede*, to the year 565 of the incarnation, is a fix'd *Æra*, by which the chronology of the *Pictiſh* kings muſt be regulated (as far as theſe firſt kings reigns are reducible to a chronological order) both before and after their converſion, down to their union with the *Scots* in one people, in the ninth age. I ſay deſignedly, *as far as the reigns of the ancient* Pictiſh *kings are reducible to a chronological order*, becauſe, having no proof that the *Picts*, no more than other northern nations without the bounds of the *Roman* empire, had the uſe of letters before their converſion to chriſtianity; the accounts we have of them before that time, barely from their own traditions, can be of little other uſe than to let us know what opinions the *Picts* themſelves were of, in reſpect to the ſucceſſion of their kings, and beginning of their monarchy, grounded upon the credit of their bards or antiquaries.

I cannot but here obſerve, that when I conſider the difference there is betwixt the firſt and ſecond part of the abſtract of the chronicles of the *Picts*, before and after they received chriſtianity, I find in it a ſenſible proof of what I am often obliged to mention in this eſſay, to wit, of the diſtinction that ought to be made in all pretended ancient hiſtorical monuments of the northern nations, betwixt the accounts they give of their hiſtory and antiquities, before the times that they became more cultivated and received the uſe of letters (which, in regard of thoſe that never were ſubjects of the *Roman* empire, ſcarce ever happened till their converſion to chriſtianity) and the accounts of their hiſtory, written ſince the uſe of letters was received among them. The firſt kind, when they are expoſed in their own native dreſs, ſuch as they came from the firſt author's hand, (without being refined or corrected by poſterior writers, who had more skill, and liv'd in times of greater light and learning) are generally ſo inconſiſtent with all true chronology and hiſtory, that they can be of little, or no other uſe, than at beſt to let us know what ſtories paſt current among the people, whoſe hiſtory they relate, at the time they were written, concerning their anceſtors.

But as to the hiſtorical accounts we have from writers of the northern nations, of what paſt ſince they had the uſe of letters, I do not think that the uncertain, or even fabulous ſtories, that the bards have given of their remote antiquities in the dark ages, ought to hinder their poſterior hiſtories, containing accounts of what paſt ſince they had learning among them, from meeting with that acceptance from the learned in other countries, that other hiſtories meet with, in proportion to their agreement with other received hiſtories, and with the rules of chronology.

And nothing can contribute ſo much to make theſe hiſtorical accounts, written in times of light and learning, be received by the learned, as to be careful to diſtinguiſh exactly betwixt them and the uncertain and fabulous relations of bards, a ſet of illiterate men, in ancient times; and beſides, as we ſhall obſerve elſewhere, branded by all writers, ancient and modern, with the characters of being generally govern'd in their rhapſodies by paſſion and intereſt. As nothing, on the contrary, is more capable to decry the hiſtory of any country, and take away the credit of it among the judicious and learned in other countries, than for an author to put the bards accounts of it, in remote ages, on a level with the hiſtories written in times of learning, and to ſeem to give equal credit to both, and make uſe indifferently of them for vouchers of what an author gives for the hiſtory of his country. It is for this reaſon that I found it neceſſary to make ſo different a judgment of the firſt and ſecond part of this abſtract of the *Pictiſh* chronicle: as indeed it was one of the chief motives that engaged me to undertake this critical eſſay in general on the ancient inhabitants of our country.

BUT to return from this digreſſion, and continue my obſervations on the abſtract, it remains to treat of the differences that are betwixt the names, number and ſeries of the *Pictiſh* kings, ſuch as they are ſet down in this abſtract, both in the firſt and ſecond part of it, and thoſe contained in our *Scotiſh* catalogues.

AS to the differences we meet with in the firſt part, containing the *Pictiſh* kings before chriſtianity and the uſe of letters was received among them, it is to be obſerv'd, that from the diſappearance of the *Picts*, as a diſtinct people under their own name, the body of the nation, ſince they became ſubject to the *Scots*, having been, by degrees, from the ninth to the twelfth, or thirteenth age, cemented and incorporated in one body of people with the *Scots*, ſo as to diſappear under their own name; thence aroſe the notion of a total deſtruction, or extirpation of the *Picts*. And the *Scots* having already received the opinion of their own ancient ſettlement in *Britain* before the incarnation, their writers, by a miſtaken notion of honour, as if it had been a more glorious atchievement to the *Scotiſh* conquerors to have extirpated a whole nation, than to have ſimply ſubdued them; and, upon their ſubjection, to have incorporated and united them into one body of people with themſelves: The *Scotiſh* writers, I ſay, upon this affected to render the *Picts* as well inferior to the *Scots* in the antiquity of their ſettlement in *Britain* and monarchy, as they had been in the ſucceſs of their laſt war.

THE *Scotiſh* writers then having already fix'd the coming in, and firſt ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*, about four hundred years before the incarnation, thought, it ſeems, it would be a diſparagement to them to allow the *Picts*, a people they had vanquiſh'd, and either quite rooted out, or forced to become their ſubjects, the precedency in antiquity of ſettlement, and an ancient ſucceſſion of kings, that far tranſcended theirs. Therefore, every one of the *Scotiſh* writers, after raiſing their own antiquity to an incredible height, ſeem to vye one with another, who ſhall bring loweſt the time of the ſettlement of the *Picts* in *Britain*, and the beginning of their monarchy.

THE *Latin* chronicle in verſe or rhyme, (ſet down in the (*a*) appendix to this work) ſays, that the *Pictiſh* kingdom laſted only 1224 years, and nine months; by conſequence it could not have begun ſooner than about 374 years before the birth of Chriſt. Another *Scotiſh* writer, mentioned in the additions to *Fordun*'s (*b*) chronicle, hath it that the reign of the *Picts* laſted in all 1187 years, and nine months; and ſo muſt have begun only about 337 years before the incarnation. *Fordun* (*c*) ſays, that they reigned in *Britain* 1100 years, and more: but he quotes a writer (*d*) that had advanced that the *Scots* were in poſſeſſion of the northern parts of the iſland 300 years before the *Picts*; and notwithſtanding the zeal he had to raiſe the *Scotiſh* antiquities, he gives not in to that high flight, but ſeems willing (*e*) to allow a precedency of ſettlement to the *Picts*, or that both the *Picts* and *Scots* ſettled in *Britain* about the ſame time. In fine,

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(*a*) Qui Picti terram rexere mille ducentis, & pariter junctis viginti quatuor annis, ut verum renovem, menſibus atque novem. *Append. num.* 6. *cap.* 5.

(*b*) Scotichron. magnum in bibl. regia, Lond. & alibi. lib. 4. c. 10.

(*c*) Fordun. lib. 4. c. 9. pag. 295. edit. Hern.

(*d*) Fordun. ibid.

(*e*) Ibid.

Winton's

Winton's (*a*) chronicle, and others, give only 1061 years to the duration of the *Pictiſh* monarchy; ſo, according to them, it could not have begun ſooner than about 211 years before the incarnation: nay, by the additions (*b*) to *Fordun*'s chronicle, it appears, that ſome *Scotiſh* writers have gone that length to ſuppoſe that there were twenty three *Scotiſh* kings before the *Picts*.

IT was not ſo with foreign writers, who had no emulation nor quarrel with the *Picts*. For beſides (*c*) *Ralph Higden*, from *Giraldus Cambrenſis*, who ſays he had ſeen writers that gave the *Pictiſh* monarchy in *Britain* 1360 years of duration, that is, 510 years before the incarnation; we have ſeen the *Iriſh* (*d*) old writers gave the *Pictiſh* monarchy the ſame antiquity and number of kings, that we find by this abſtract, the *Picts* gave themſelves.

SO, upon the whole, it can ſcarce be doubted, but the retrenchments made by the *Scotiſh* writers, both in the antiquity of the *Pictiſh* ſettlement, and in the names and number of their kings, were oc-

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(*a*) Winton. lib. 1. c. 8, & 19.

(*b*) Quamvis quædam ſunt chronicæ quæ Scotos aſſerunt præ Pictis, ſecundum quaſdam chronicas 317, ſecundum alias 265 annis, 8 menſibus, & ſecundum alias 249 annis & tribus menſibus hanc poſſidere regionem. Summa regum Scotorum ante Pictos 23. *Scotichron. magnum, lib.* 4. *c.* 10.

(*c*) Polichron. edit. Gale, p. 185.

(*d*) Supra, pag. 102.

caſioned chiefly by the motives already mention'd, and made with a deſign to leſſen the *Picts*, and to raiſe the precedency of the *Scots* over them in every thing that appeared honourable to the nation.

HENCE, it ſeems, the difference we find betwixt the abſtract and the *Scotiſh* catalogues in the number of ancient *Pictiſh* kings before they embraced chriſtianity, chiefly proceeded. Our *Scotiſh* writers having, as appears, choſen out of the authentick catalogues of theſe kings, (which I cannot doubt but that they had in ancient times, eſpecially at St. *Andrew*'s) ſuch a number of them, with the years of their reigns, as that all theſe years, ſummed up together, might not exceed, or even amount to the antiquity which the *Scots* had given to their own ſettlement in *Britain*. For a proof of this, it ſuffices to ſumm up the years of the *Pictiſh* reigns, as they are ſet down in the two *Scotiſh* catalogues, from the fix'd *Æra* of the ninth year of king *Brude*, ſon of *Meilochon*, concurring with the year of our Lord 565, till the beginning of the reign of *Cruithne*, firſt king of the *Picts*, and it will be found that the years of all their reigns, according to *Fordun*, amount only to 289 years before the incarnation; and thoſe of the catalogue of St. *Andrews* only to 237 at moſt: whereas the *Scotiſh* writers place the ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Britain* above 400 years before the incarnation.

ALL this conſidered, I do not ſee that the difference which we find in the number of kings betwixt the abſtract of the *Pictiſh* chronicle and *Scotiſh* catalogues, in theſe ancient times, can furniſh any ſufficient argument againſt the antiquity of the ſettlement and monarchy of the *Picts* in *Britain*, or the number of their kings, or give any juſt ground to doubt that the abſtract is not authentick.

AS to the differences which we meet with betwixt the *Scotiſh* catalogues of the *Pictiſh* kings and that of the abſtract in the ſecond part of it, that is, in the times following after the converſion of the *Picts*, from the fifth or ſixth age downwards; we have already ſhewn that the preference is abſolutely due to the ſeries of theſe kings contained in the abſtract, as being entirely conformable to all other *Britiſh* hiſtories that make mention of the *Picts*; whereas the ſeries ſet down in the *Scotiſh* catalogues cannot, without great alterations, be made to agree with them: ſo the chief uſe that can be made of theſe catalogues is to help to rectify ſome of the names ſet down in the abſtract, in which the writer appears to have often followed the *Iriſh* or *Gælick* idiotiſm in the pronunciation and ſpelling of the names, which makes many of them appear very different from the ſame names, as they are ſet down in the *Scotiſh* catalogues; but I ſhall leave the judgment of that to thoſe that are more ſkilled in the old *Scotiſh* or *Iriſh* language, after ſetting down my own remarks upon the ſubject.

AND in the firſt place theſe alterations and changes are very common in all copies of catalogues of ancient proper names, which by length of time are grown out of uſe; eſpecially when tranſcribed by thoſe who did not underſtand the language of the people, whoſe names they are, which is certainly the preſent caſe; beſides thoſe variations which the negligence, as well as the ignorance of tranſcribers is ordinarily the cauſe of: ſo that the oftner they are tranſcribed the more they are disfigured, each tranſcriber adding new faults of his own to thoſe that he found before: whence it happens, that in length of time they appear quite different names. This may be obſerved in the names ſet down in the genealogical ſeries of the kings of *Scotland*, as we meet with them in moſt of our modern *Scotiſh* writers, both MS. and printed, when compared with copies written by thoſe that knew the old *Scotiſh* or *Gælick* language. The ſame kind of variations happen in the *Britiſh* or *Welch* tongue, as may be ſeen in *Humphrey* (*a*) *Lhuyd*'s deſcription of *Britain*.

IT is then no wonder that the like alterations and variety ſhould be met with in the different copies of the names of the *Pictiſh* kings, theſe being more ancient, and oftner tranſcribed by wri-

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(*a*) H. Ludd, Fragment. Brit. deſcript. fol. 1, 2, 3.

ters of different languages and pronunciation: but as theſe alterations are frequent, not only in the names of the *Pictiſh* kings, but in thoſe alſo of the ancient *Scotiſh* kings, and in general throughout moſt words of the old *Scotiſh* or *Gælick*, the ſame with the *Iriſh*, which (to ſpeak grammatically) frequently appear quite different in the oblique caſes from what they are in the nominative; for theſe reaſons I ſhall here venture to ſet down ſome general remarks that may contribute to reconcile the various ways of ſpelling, in which we find theſe names in the ſeveral copies that we have of the ancient *Scotiſh* and *Pictiſh* kings.

AND 1°. 'Tis to be obſerved, that in moſt other languages, both vulgar, and in the *Greek* and *Latin*, the alterations by which the oblique caſes in nouns are diſtinguiſh'd from the nominative, fall generally upon the final ſyllables or terminations; whereas in *Gælick* or old *Scotiſh*, the ſame with the *Iriſh*, theſe alterations fall upon the firſt or ſecond ſyllable, and ſometimes on both. 2°. This alteration in *Gælick* is generally marked by adding an H, or, to abridge, by adding ſimply a point which ſtands for an H, above the firſt or ſecond conſonant of the oblique caſes. 3°. The effect of this additional H is different, according to the nature of the different conſonants to which it is joined. Thus H added to B and M, makes them pronounced V, W, or F. Thus we find *Domnall*, which in the oblique caſes is written *Domnhuil*, pronounced and written *Dovenal*, or *Dofnal*. H being added to C and P, they are pronounced Ch, Ph. D with an H is pronounced G or C; as *Macdhonuil*, pronounced *Macgonuel* or *Maconuil*. H before G breaks it into U, or W; as *Eogan*, written *Eoghan* in the oblique, is pronounced *Ewen*, or *Uven*, turned into *Evenus* by our modern writers. F, S, T, joined to H, do commonly loſe their ſound, and the H alone is pronounced; as *Fergus*, *Fhergus*, pronounced *Hergus*; whence *Hurgus*, *Urguiſt*.

Besides theſe there are, 1°. Changes of conſonants, ſuch as F into V and W, D into T, and reciprocally. 2°. Changes of Vowels, A into I; as *Mac* a ſon, *Mhic*, pronounced *Vic*, of a ſon. I into U; as *Bride* and *Brude* are the ſame name. Oe into U and A; as *Oengus*, *Hungus*, *Unnuſt* and *Angus* are all the ſame: ſo are alſo *Brude*, *Brede*, *Bride*; likewiſe *Durſt*, *Druſt*, and *Dreſt*; and theſe, *Fothe*, *Fathe*, and *Wide*, F being pronounced W. and in old MSS. in the *Saxon* character, the *Saxon* Th, written ð, is miſtaken by tranſcribers for a D. *Feredeth* and *Wredeth*; *Feret* and *Wred*, all the ſame. The C is always pronounced K; as *Cineoch*, *Cainach*, *Kinoth* and *Keneth* are the ſame name; and *Naitan*, *Nectan* and *Nethan*. 'Tis to be alſo remark'd, that in MSS. of the fifteenth age, the Ch and Th are written generally ſo alike one to another, that they can ſcarce be diſtinguiſh'd. Hence ariſe the common miſtakes of our modern writers in the names

Eocha, *Echach*, *Erch*, &c. which they call *Ethodius*, *Erth*, &c. which in general is a ſure ſign that the copies they followed were of the fifteenth, or beginning of the ſixteenth age, as we ſhall ſee elſewhere. Thus I have met with one of our kings names vulgarly *Achajus*, but in the *Gælick*, *Eocha*; I have met with it, in different MSS. in theſe nine different forms; *Eocha*, *Eachach*, *Echach*, *Ethach*, *Eochuid*, or *Eoghuid*, *Eokai*, *Ethaſi*, *Achajus*, *Achilaus*. All this by the miſtakes of tranſcribers. 'Tis alſo to be remarked, that the ſame Th or Ch is, by a like miſtake, or falſe reading, changed in the termination of names, oftentimes in a D or ꝺ; as *Ethod* or *Ethad*, for *Ecchach* or *Eochach*; and ſometimes in L, as *Eokal* for *Eochach*, *Kenel* for *Keneth*, in *Gælick*, *Cineoch*; the C *Gælick*, as I obſerved above, being pronounced K. By the ſame errors of tranſcribers the name of one of our kings in *Gælick*, *Gabran*, in the nominative caſe, is *Gabhran* in the oblique, and pronounced *Gavran*, or *Gauran*, which our modern writers have turned into *Gouran*, *Goran*, and *Conranus*. By theſe and ſuch other obſervations, and a neceſſary allowance for the faults of tranſcribers, ſuch of the names of the *Pictiſh* kings as are in the *Scotiſh* catalogues may be eaſily reconciled, and will be found the ſame generally as thoſe in the abſtract, however they appear at firſt to be different.

Series or Succeſſion of the Pictiſh *Kings, according to the Abſtract of their Chronicles, ſet down in the Appendix, Number 2. under the Title it bears in the* MS. *of* Chronica de origine Antiquorum Pictorum.

FIRST PART.

	Kings Names.	*Reigned.*
1	CRuidne, *or* Cruithne, *ſon of* Cinge, *or* Kinne, *father of the* Picts, *dwelling in this iſland*	100
2	Circui 60.	
3	Fidaich 40.	
4	Forteim 70.	
5	Floclaid 30.	
6	Got. 12.	
7	Ce, *i. e.* Cecircum 15.	
8	Fibaid (*a*) 24.	
9	Gedeolgudach	80
10	Denbacan	100
11	Olfinecta	60
12	Guididgaedbrecach	50

(*a*) All theſe ſeven are in the abſtract called ſons, which may be underſtood deſcendants of *Cruithne*: but ſuppoſing they were all ſons of *Cruithne*, it follows that they muſt have all reigned at the ſame time with him, and have had different portions of *Albany* aſſigned to each of them under their father, as *reguli*, princes or governors each of a province; and ſo of the ſeven provinces into which *Albany* was anciently divided, according to the old deſcription of it ſet down in the appendix, *n.* 1.

13 Geſtgurtich

	Kings Names.	*Reigned.*
13	Geſtgurtich	40
14	Wurgeſt	30
15	Brudebout (*a*)	48
16	Gilgidi	101
17	Tharan	100
18	Morleo	15
19	Deocilunan	40
20	Cimoiod fil. Arcois	7
21	Deord	50
22	Blicibliterth	5
23	Dectoteric frater Diu	40
24	Uſconbuts	30
25	Carvorſt	40
26	Deoartavois	20
27	Uiſt	50
28	Ru	100
29	Gartnaithboc	4
30	Vere	9
31	Breth. fil. Buthut	7
32	Vipoignamet	30

(*a*) The MS. adds, that from this *Brudebout* there deſcended thirty kings of the name of *Brude*, who reigned during 150 years in *Ireland* and in *Albany*; their names are ſet down thus. *Brude Pant. Brude Urpant. Brude Leo. Brude Uleo. Brude Gant. Brude Urgant.* And the reſt that may be ſeen in the piece itſelf in the appendix.

I ſhall only here remark, that according to this piece, it ſeems there was in ancient times a colony of *Picts*. Whither the *Cruthnii*, or *Cruthinii*, mentioned by (*b*) *Uſher* from *Adamnan*, were the deſcendants of thoſe?

(*b*) Uſher, antiq. Brit. p. 302.

	Kings Names.	*Reigned.*
33	Canutulachama	4
34	Wradech vechla	2
35	Garnaichdi uber	60
36	Talore filius Achivir	75
37	Druſt. fil. Erp.	

BOTH the abſtract and copy of St. *Andrew*'s have *Druſt fil. Erp* or *Urb*, *regn.* or *rexit C. annis & C. bella peregit*; where there is a palpable error in both theſe copies in the word *regn.* or *rexit*, being written inſtead of *vixit*, as both a copy quoted by (*a*) *Fordun* and that of *James Gray*, taken from the old records of St. *Andrew*'s, have it in theſe words; *Druſt* or *Durſt*, *fil. Urb* or *Irb*, 100 *an. vixit*, & 100 *bella peregit.* And *Fordun* adds, that he reigned only forty-five years; according to which, ſumming up the reigns of the other *Pictiſh* kings, as they are ſet down exactly in the abſtract, from the year of Chriſt 565, concurring with the ninth of the reign of *Brude* ſon of *Meilochon* (which is the *Æra* by which all the reigns of theſe kings are to be regulated) according to *Fordun*'s account, I ſay, which aſſigns forty five years to the reign of this *Durſt*; the beginning of it will anſwer to the year 406, and it will end, *A. D.* 451, when he was ſucceeded by *Talore* or *Talarg* ſon of *Amyl.*

BY this calculation it appears that it was, during the reign of this *Durſt*, that the goſpel was firſt preached to the *Picts* by St. *Ninian*, in the beginning of the fifth century, and afterwards by St. *Palladius* and St. *Patrick* to the *Scots* and *Iriſh*, betwixt *A. D.* 430 and 440: and here ends the firſt part of the abſtract of the *Pictiſh* chroni-

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(*a*) Ford. lib. 4. cap. 10.

cles, which contains the account of the ſucceſſion of their kings in the times of ignorance, preceding their converſion to chriſtianity, when 'tis like they firſt received the uſe of letters. So 'tis no wonder that this firſt part of the abſtract is not conformable to the rules of chronology, with which the firſt compilers of it were probably very little acquainted, beſides the many errors occaſioned by the negligence or ignorance of tranſcribers. For theſe reaſons, as I have already remarked, I have not attempted to reduce this firſt part to the order of chronology, as I am about to do the ſecond, which is an eaſy work, being entirely conformable to the rules of chronology, and all we meet with in hiſtory concerning the *Picts.*

SECOND PART.

	Kings Names.		*Began to Reign.*	*Reigned.*
37	Druſt. fil. Erp or Irb		406	45
38	Talore fil. Aniel		451	4
39	Necton morbet fil. Erp. (*a*)		455	25
40	Dreſt Gurthinmoth		480	30
41	Galanau etelich		510	12
42	Dadreſt		522	1
43	Dreſt fil. Gyrom	reigned together	523	1
	Dreſt fil. Udroſt		524	5
	Dreſt fil. Gyrom ſolus		529	5
44	Gartnach fil. Gyrom.		534	7
45	Cealtraim fil. Gyrom.		541	1
46	Talorg. fil. Muircholaich		542	11
47	Dreſt fil. Munait		553	1
48	Galam cum Aleth		554	1
	———— cum Brideo		555	1

(*a*) *Tertio anno regni ejus Darlugtach Abbatiſſa,* &c. as in the abſtract in the appendix, *n.* 2.

	Kings Names.	*Began to Reign.*	*Rd.*
49	Bride fil. Mailcon, ſive Meilochon (*a*)	556	30
50	Gartnaich fil. Domelch	586	11
51	Nectan nepos Uerb.	597	20
52	Cineoch fil. Luthrn	617	19
53	Garnard fil. Wid.	636	4
54	Bridei fil. Wid.	640	5
55	Talore frater eorum	645	12
56	Talorcan fil. Enfret	657	4
57	Gartnait fil. Donnel	661	6
58	Dreſt frater ejus	667	7
59	Bridei fil. Bili (*b*)	674	21
60	Taran fil. Entifidich	695	4
61	Bredei fil. Derili	699	11
62	Necton ſeu Naitan fil. Derili (*c*)	710	15
63	Dreſt & Alpin, reigned together	725	5
64	Onnuſt ſive Oengus fil. Urguſt ſive Fergus (*d*)	730	31
65	Bredei fil. Uiurguſt	761	2

(*a*) VIII *Anno regni ejus baptizatus eſt a St. Columba.* So the MS. of the abſtract hath it, where there is wanting a fourth, I. after the V to make it VIIII, that is, the ninth year of *Brude*'s reign, as *Bede* hath it.

(*b*) This is he who killed in battle *Egfrid* king of *Northumberland*, and deſtroyed moſt of his army, *A. D.* 685, as we have elſewhere ſhewn from *Bede* and the continuator of *Nennius*, ſupra pag. 111.

(*c*) It was to this king *Naitan* that *Ceolfrid*, abbot of *Wiremouth*, wrote the famous Letter about *Eaſter* and the *Tonſure*, *A. D.* 715, as we have ſhewn from *Bede*'s hiſtory, and his life of *Ceolfrid*, ſupra pag. 112.

(*d*) This *Onnuſt*'s death is marked by *Roger Houeden* and *Simeon* of *Durham* in the year 761, conformable to the ſupputation of this chronicle, *ſupra pag.* 113.

66 Kiniod

	Kings Names.	*Began to Reign.*	*Rd.*
66	Kiniod ſive Kinoth fil. Wirdech (*a*)	763	12
67	Elpin ſive Alpin fil. Wroid	775	3½
68	Dreſt ſive Durſt fil. Talorgan	779	4½
69	Talargan fil. Onnuſt	783	2½
70	Canaul fil. Tarla (*b*)	786	5
	Caſtantin ſive Conſtantine fil. Urguiſt ſive Fergus	791	30
	Unnuſt ſive Hungus fil. Urguiſt	821	
	Dreſt fil. Conſtantine & Talorgan fil. Uthoil, reigned together (*c*)	833	12
	Uwen fil. Unnuſt ſive Eogan fil. Hungi	836	3
	Wrad. fil. Bargoit. Keneth-Mac Alpin Rex Scotorum	839	3
	Bred ſive Brude	842	3
	(*d*) Keneth Mac-Alpin, king of Albany	843	16

Here ends the ſeries of the *Pictiſh* kings, according to the abſtract and *Lynch*'s catalogue: and this period agrees perfectly with the *Æra* of the beginning of *Keneth Mac-Alpin*'s reign over all *Albany*, which, according to all ancient writers that treat of it, laſted 16 years. For king *Keneth* died

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(*a*) It was to this king *Kinoth* that *Alcred* king of *Northumberland* fled for refuge, *A. D.* 774, as *Houeden* and *Simeon* have recorded it: they alſo fix his death to the year 775. *Supra p.* 114.

(*b*) Theſe are the ſeventy *Pictiſh* kings that ſucceeded one after another from *Cruithne* to *Conſtantine*, mentioned in the moſt ancient hiſtories of *Ireland*.

(*c*) The *Scotiſh* catalogues join theſe two kings names in one, and call him *Durſtolorg*, which is a viſible error.

(*d*) *Keneth Mac-Alpin* king of *Albany*, having ſudued the *Picts*, reigned ſixteen years.

idib. Februar. feria tertia, according to a ſhort, but ancient chronicle of the firſt kings of *Albany*, to be found here in the appendix, *num.* 3. taken from the MS. of *Colbert*'s library, already mentioned. Now this character of the *Ides*, or thirteenth day of *February*, concurring with the third *Ferie*, which is, *Tueſday*, can only agree to the year 858, which is according to the account now in uſe, the year 859, and by no means to the year 854, where, according to *Fordun* and our *Scotiſh* hiſtorians, *Keneth*'s death is placed. Now ſubſtracting the ſixteen years of *Keneth*'s reign over all *Albany* from *A. D.* 858 or 859, the beginning of it, and by conſequence the period of the *Pictiſh* monarchy, under their own name, muſt have happened *A. D.* 842 or 843, which perfectly agrees with the abſtract of their chronicles, and is a new confirmation of the authenticneſs and exactneſs of the ſecond part of it, down from the time that the goſpel was preached to the *Picts*, and ſhews the preference that it deſerves before all the *Scotiſh*, or any other catalogues.

As to the three *Pictiſh* kings, *Keneth*, *Brude*, and *Durſt* or *Drusken*, that are added in the *Scotiſh* catalogues after *Brude*, the laſt *Pictiſh* king, ſet down in the abſtract, and by *Lynch*, if there were any ſuch, 'tis like that they have been ſet up one after another with the title of kings, by a party of the *Picts* that ſtood out, and continued to diſpute *Keneth Mac-Alpin*'s right during the ſix years aſſigned to their reigns, after *Keneth* was generally own'd king of all *Albany*. But I may have occaſion to treat this matter more diſtinctly in the ſecond part of this eſſay.

ART. VIII. *Of the union of the* Pictiſh *and* Scotiſh *kingdoms in one monarchy.*

ALL our writers do agree, that the union of the kingdoms of the *Picts* and *Scots* happen'd towards the middle of the ninth age; that *Keneth Mac-Alpin* was the firſt monarch of the united kingdoms. All our modern writers do alſo agree, that as *Keneth* was by hereditary ſucceſſion king of the *Scots*, he had an equal title to the kingdom of the *Picts*, in the right of his father *Alpin*, ſon to *Eocha*, or *Achajus*. *Alpin* having laid claim to the *Pictiſh* crown as next heir, after the death of king *Eogan*, ſon to *Hungus*, whoſe daughter *Ferguſia* being married to *Achajus* king of the *Scots*, convey'd to her ſon *Alpin* the right to the *Pictiſh* crown, preferable to any other pretender, after the death of his uncle *Eogan*.

THIS account of the title and claim of the *Scotiſh* kings to the *Pictiſh* crown, as next heirs by right of blood, is unanimouſly delivered by all our *Scotiſh* writers after *Fordun*; ſuch as *Boece* (a), *Buchanan*,

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(a) Boeth. l. 10.

Buchanan (*a*), *Leſly* (*b*), *Chambers* (*c*), &c. *Fordun* (*d*) indeed does not ſpecify, as they do, the particular degree of blood and relation on which the claim of the *Scotiſh* kings was grounded; yet he tells us, that the king of *Scots* laid claim as heir to the *Pictiſh* crown, and that this claim was the ground of the quarrel that occaſioned the laſt war betwixt the *Picts* and the *Scots*; and when he ſeems afterwards to be in doubt about the cauſe of the overthrow of their kingdom, 'tis clear he means there the firſt cauſe, by his recurring to the judgments of God on that people for their ſins; and the other examples (*e*) he brings at large of the overthrow of kingdoms and ſtates for their ſins, do all prove that this was his meaning. Another writer, ſet down here in the (*f*) appendix, more ancient than *Fordun*, ſpecifies more particularly the ſins of the *Picts* that brought the judgments of God upon them: but it is evident, that both theſe laſt writers ſpeak of the firſt and original cauſes of the overthrow of the *Pictiſh* kingdom, and not of the immediate cauſe or occaſion of the laſt war betwixt the *Scots* and the *Picts*. There's no doubt in general, but that thoſe heavy judgments of Almighty God, by which king-

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(*a*) Buchan. lib. 6. fol. 57. in Dugal.

(*b*) Leſl. lib. 5. pag. 180.

(*c*) David. Chambr. d'Ormond. fol. 99.

(*d*) Fordun. l. 3. c. 53.

(*e*) Idem. l. 4. c. 5, 6, 7.

(*f*) Append. n. 3.

doms, ſtates, and empires are overthrown, are generally drawn upon them by the ſins and wickedneſs of the inhabitants: but we are enquiring here into the immediate cauſe of the laſt war betwixt the *Picts* and *Scots*, whereby ſuch great numbers of the leading men among the *Picts* were cut off, and which ended in the extinction of the *Pictiſh* monarchy in their own name: and *Fordun* informs us it was occaſioned, as we have obſerved, by the *Scots* laying claim to the *Pictiſh* crown; and all our poſterior hiſtorians ſet down in particular the ground of this claim as we have related it; and in this they are followed by (*a*) *Engliſh* and (*b*) *Iriſh* authors that have wrote concerning this point. Nor are our modern hiſtorians contradicted in this by other more ancient writers, as they are in what they relate of our remote antiquities: beſides, that there being, no doubt, ſeveral hiſtorical monuments extant in the time of *Boece* and *Buchanan*, that are now periſh'd, of the affairs of *Scotland*, ſince the reign of *Fergus* ſon of *Erch*, there is ground to believe that they would not have been ſo poſitive and particular in the account they give of the right of the kings of *Scotland* to the *Pictiſh* crown, if they had not found ancient authority for it, eſpecially conſidering this fact could be of no uſe, to what appears to have been the principal deſign they aimed at in their hiſtory, of which in its proper place.

(*a*) Holingſhead, p. 169.

(*b*) Kenedy Geneal. p. 182, 184.

And this account of our kings claiming an hereditary right to the kingdom of the *Picts*, is confirmed by the title of kings of the *Picts* given to *Keneth Mac-Alpin* and ſome of his ſucceſſors, after the union of the two kingdoms, as we ſhall preſently ſhew. But the great men among the *Picts*, having in prejudice of king *Alpin*'s right ſet up for a king one *Feret*, otherwiſe called *Wred*, of the *Pictiſh* blood, thence enſued a war betwixt the two nations, in which king *Alpin* was taken and put to death by the *Picts*. To him ſucceeded his ſon *Keneth*, who having by a ſtratagem inſpired the *Scots* with courage, whom their late defeat had much diſheartned, the war was renewed, and carried on with greater eagerneſs on both ſides, and at laſt proved fatal to the *Picts*, who being ſeveral times defeated, and great numbers of the moſt warlike and leading men of the *Picts* being cut off, the reſt ſubmitted; and ſo the whole kingdom being ſubdued by *Keneth*, was united into one with that of the *Scots*.

By this it appears, that whatever oppoſition king *Keneth* might have met with at firſt in his pretenſions to the *Pictiſh* crown from the generality of the nation, he having aſſerted his title by his victories, and at laſt, by their ſubmiſſion, became lawful ſovereign, as well of the *Picts* as of the *Scots*; not only by conqueſt, but in the right of his father *Alpin*, only lawful heir of both, and was the firſt monarch of all *Albany* or *Scotland*; and all our kings being ever ſince lineally deſcended of him, are by conſequence lawful ſucceſſors, as well of the *Pictiſh* as of the *Scotiſh* kings, and may equally reckon the number of their royal predeceſſors from the firſt king of the *Picts*, as from the firſt of the *Scots*. And thus independently of the royal line of the *Scots* come from *Ireland*, the kings of *Scotland* were in the royal line of the *Picts*, and as ſucceeding to the *Pictiſh* kings by the right of blood, and by that of conqueſt, the moſt ancient monarchs in *Europe*; and this with the concurring teſtimony both of our own hiſtorians and of thoſe of *Ireland*.

ART. IX. *That the preſent inhabitants of* Scotland *are as well the off-ſpring and race of the* Picts, *as of the* Scots.

BUT not only the ancient ſucceſſion of the *Pictiſh* monarchy ſubſiſted ſtill in the *Scotiſh* line by king *Keneth*, and his poſterity, lawful heirs of the *Pictiſh* kings, as well by blood as by conqueſt; but the body of the *Pictiſh* people, all over theſe provinces of *Scotland*, which were poſſeſſed by them, having ſubmitted to *Keneth*, and own'd his title, remained ſtill for the moſt part, and their poſterity after them: and the *Picts*, after the union, are often mentioned by their own name; till by degrees, in ſucceeding ages, they were thoroughly intermixed and incorporated into one people with the *Scots.* In the ſame manner as the ancient *Gauls* and the *Franks*, the ancient *Spaniards* and the *Goths*, and ſo many other nations which, upon the decay of the *Roman* empire, ſeized upon the ſeveral provinces of it, grew up, by frequent alliances and intermarriages, into one people with the ancient inhabitants; ſo that it were impoſſible, at preſent, for the generality of private families, to diſcover or make out, of which of the two, whether of the ancient or later inhabitants, they are the deſcendents.

FROM this mixture of the *Picts* with the *Scots*, it followed that the *Scots* being the governing nation, and the *Picts* becoming their ſubjects, the name of the former prevailed, and that of the *Picts* was eclipſed by degrees, as both theſe people grew into one in the following ages, after their being united under one monarch; ſo that after the twelfth age, we have no farther account of the *Picts* as a diſtinct people in *Scotland.* The *Pictiſh* language ceaſed alſo as a diſtinct language from the *Gælick*, or old *Scotiſh*, which being, at the time of the union of the two kingdoms, the language of the court, and of the ruling part of the united kingdoms, got ſoon the upper hand of the *Pictiſh*; and this laſt did ſo much the ſooner and more eaſily diſappear, as the change from the one language to the other, was very eaſy and natural; the *Pictiſh* and *Gælick*, as well as the *Britiſh*, being, as far as appears, but three different dialects of the ſame mother-tongue, to wit, the *Celtick.*

AND as we ſee the *Engliſh* tongue, (being a compound of *Saxon* and *French*, originally *Gothick*, and ſo entirely different from the *Gælick*) hath ſince the reign of *Malcolm Keanmore*, at which time the *Saxon* began to be the language of the court, and daily more that of the governing part of the kingdom of *Scotland*, ſo wore out by degrees the *Gælick* or ancient *Scotiſh*, (tho' the native language of the inhabitants) that it is almoſt reduced to the corners and extremities of the kingdom; the like happened to the *Pictiſh* language: the *Saxon* to the ſouth, and the *Gælick* to the north of the *Friths*, gaining ſuch ground daily upon it, that at laſt it was quite extinct. Thus both the name of the *Picts*, and their language, were ſo worn out by the middle of the twelfth age, that we have from that time no more account of them, as a diſtinct people from the *Scots*, than if the whole race of them had been cut off like one man that had left no poſterity.

THIS univerſal diſappearance of the *Picts*, and of their language, gave occaſion to *Henry Huntington* (*a*), an *Engliſh* hiſtorian, about the middle of the twelfth age, to write that *the Picts ſeemed then ſo far extinct, and their language ſo utterly de-*

(*a*) Hen. Hunting. hiſt. l. 1. f. 171.

ſtroyed, that all that was recorded of them in ancicient hiſtory, appeared a meer fable. Upon which, he makes a good moral reflexion on the uncertainty of human things: but *Huntington* lived at a diſtance from *Scotland*, and was not ſo well acquainted with the tranſactions, even of his own time, in the north, betwixt the *Scots* and *Engliſh*, as was *Richard Prior* of *Hexham*, who lived in the time, and near the borders, and gives us this account, that in the famous battle of the *Standard*, *A. D.* 1138, a part of the *Scots* army, under king *David*, was compoſed of *Picts*, as we ſhall afterwards more fully ſet down.

HOWEVER, this extinction of the *Pictiſh* language, and of their name, as a diſtinct people from the *Scots*, gave riſe to the ſtory of a general maſſacre made of them by king *Keneth*; which, by poſterior hiſtorians, was improved to a total extirpation of the race of *Picts*, man, woman and child: ſo in the writers after the twelfth age, and downwards, we frequently meet with expreſſions importing, that king *Keneth* deſtroyed them, *deſtruxit & delevit Pictos. Fordun* and *Buchanan* make ſome exceptions, as we ſhall obſerve: but *Boece* (*a*), after relating many general maſſacres of the *Picts* by *Keneth*'s order, brings him in making a moſt barbarous decree to kill man, woman and child, and executing it accordingly upon all the

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(*a*) Boeth. hiſt. Scot. l. 10. f. 198. n. 60, 70, &c. f. 200. n. 1, 10.

remains of the *Pictiſh* race, who, he ſays, had got together in the *Utopian* city of *Camelodunum* in *Pictland.* But, in reality, the ſtory of ſuch a general deſtruction, and rooting out of a whole nation more numerous and powerful than the *Scots* themſelves, is both improbable and repugnant to the truth of hiſtory.

FOR, in the firſt place, not to inſiſt upon the barbarity of ſuch an inhuman action, as the cutting off a whole nation without diſtinction of age, ſex, or quality, would have been; the thing in itſelf ſeems incredible, that *Keneth*, by the aſſiſtance of the *Scots* only, could ſo far become maſter of all the *Pictiſh* nation, as to be able to extirpate it, if we conſider the large poſſeſſions and extent of the *Pictiſh* territories, which, as we have ſhewn, far exceeded the *Scotiſh*, as they did in number and ſtrength: the *Scots* being confined as yet to ſome of the weſtern provinces and iſles, nothing leſs than a miracle could have effected ſuch a total overthrow. Whereas, in the ſuppoſition I make after our hiſtorians, that king *Keneth* ſucceeded to the *Pictiſh* throne, with the oppoſition only of moſt of the chief of their leading men, whilſt many of the reſt of them favoured his title, the union of the two kingdoms might be more eaſily compaſſed, and his right aſſerted by ordinary courſe.

If we conſider, 2°. the ſituation of affairs in *Britain* about *Keneth*'s time, and that (*a*) the *Danes*, (who about the end of the eighth century, had invaded *Ireland*, and ravaged the iſle of *Ycolmkill*, at the one end of *North Britain* and *Holy Iſland*, and the northern parts of *England* at the other): that theſe *Danes*, during *Keneth*'s reign, invaded *Britain* with great fleets; if, I ſay, all this be conſider'd, it would have been the moſt impolitick thing *Keneth* could have done, and againſt all the dictates of prudence, to have ſo far weakened his united kingdom, as totally to cut off the beſt part and ſtrength of the inhabitants, and expoſe his depopulated kingdom as an eaſy prey to any invader; beſides the bad conſequences of the greateſt part of it lying uncultivated, the *Scots* alone not being able, for many ages, to come to make up the number of the ancient inhabitants, and cultivate their lands: and yet all this muſt have happened, if the *Picts* were utterly extirpated, as *Boece* and others will have it.

3°. As to *John Furdun* (*b*), tho' he ſays, in one place, that *Keneth* uſed the *Picts* with great cruelty, ſparing neither age nor ſex, yet this was only in the firſt heat and fury of war; for he ſays elſewhere, that the ſtrength of the *Pictiſh* forces

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(*a*) Waræi Antiq. Hyber. p. 120, 122. Sim. Dunelm. X. Script. Houeden, f. 232. n. 30.

(*b*) Fordun, l. 4. c. 4. p. 660.

being cruſh'd in ſeveral battles, and moſt of their leading men cut off or fleeing, the generality of the *Picts* ſubmitted, and *Keneth* (*a*) marched through their provinces, and received into peace and allegiance the harmleſs people. Now to conceive how far this account, given by *Fordun*, reaches of the harmleſs people thorough all the *Pictiſh* provinces ſubmitting to *Keneth*, it ſuffices to remark, beſides what we have ſhewn elſewhere of the extent of the *Pictiſh* provinces, what, according to *Jo. Major* (*b*), king *Robert Bruce* told his ſoldiers at the battle of *Banocburn*, *That* Keneth *poſſeſſed ſcarcely the third part of* Scotland *when he overcame the* Picts: and ſince the *Picts* poſſeſſed almoſt all the reſt, and there is no certain account of any conſiderable alteration among the inhabitants ſince *Keneth*'s time, it ſeems clearly to follow, that a great part of the commons on the north-ſide of the *Friths*, and many on the ſouth, are of *Pictiſh* extraction.

(*c*) *BUCHANAN* alſo, tho' he ſeems in his hiſtory to follow *Boece*, his conſtant guide, and to aſſert a general maſſacre of the *Picts*, yet in his

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(*a*) [*Kenethus*] Quaſque provincias regni Pictorum peragrando, populum imbellem ſub fide pacis ſuſcepit. *Fordun*, *l.* 4. *c.* 8. *p.* 662.

(*b*) Tertiam hujus regni portionem vix Kenedus noſter habuit, quando ſuperbiſſimos, pugnaciſſimoſque Pictos fudit. *Jo. Major. hiſt. Scot. l.* 5. *c.* 2. *fol.* 85.

(*c*) Buchanan. hiſt. l. 5. fol. 49.

preliminary (*a*) diſſertations on the *Britiſh* antiquities, contained in the three firſt books of his hiſtory, and much more elaborate than the hiſtory itſelf. In theſe, I ſay, he limits the deſtruction of the *Picts* to thoſe bearing arms, and doubts not but there remained ſtill, after that, great numbers of the *Picts*, intermixed with the *Scots*.

4°. SUCH an univerſal maſſacre of a powerful nation, famous in all ancient and modern hiſtories, could not fail to be recorded, as one of the moſt memorable events that happened in that age, in all hiſtories, if not of *Europe*, at leaſt in thoſe of *Britain* and *Ireland* in the neighbourhood: for we have none of our own now remaining till many ages after that time; and yet there is not only nothing recorded of the utter deſtruction or extirpation of the *Picts* by the *Scots*; but not ſo much as any notice or indication of any ſuch thing in any hiſtorian, either within or without *Britain* or *Ireland*, neither of the ninth age, when this deſtruction of the *Picts* is ſaid to have happened; nor in any writer for 300 years after, till by length of time the *Pictiſh* language being worn out, and the *Picts* and *Scots* thoroughly united under one name of *Scots*; ſo that neither the name or language of *Picts* appearing more, gave occaſion to *Huntington*, and others after him, to write, that the *Picts* ſeemed quite aboliſhed, becauſe they heard no more of them by that name.

(*a*) [*Pictorum reliquias.*] Extinctâ militari ætate multas fuiſſe oportet. *Buchan. l.* 2. *f.* 36. *n.* 30.

Not only no hiſtorian for 300 years after the union of *Picts* and *Scots* takes any notice, or gives ſo much as the leaſt inſinuation of this total ſubverſion of the *Picts*, but on the contrary they mention them as ſtill in being long after that, we ſhall remark afterwards: and the accounts we have from the beſt hiſtorians of our neighbourhood concerning the *Picts*, about the times of king *Keneth* and his ſucceſſors, not only contradict the barbarous notion of a total extirpation, but exactly agree with the ſcheme of the union of the *Picts* and *Scots* under one monarch, and of king *Keneth*'s ſucceeding by an hereditary right to the *Pictiſh* kings, as I have above ſet down. Thus *Keneth* and his ſucceſſors, as we have already obſerved, are called kings of the *Picts* in the appendix to *Nennius* the *Britiſh* hiſtorian, quoted by (*a*) *Lynch*, in the *Ulſter* annals, as (*b*) *Uſher* and (*c*) O. *Flaherty* have remarked; and *Keneth* is ſtiled king of the *Picts* by *Caradock* the *Welch* hiſtorian, according to the ſame (*d*) *Uſher*: from which it follows, not only that the *Picts* ſubſiſted after the union of the two kingdoms made by *Keneth*, ſince it had been ridiculous for him or his ſucceſſors to aſſume the title of kings of a people

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(*a*) Lynch Cambren. Everſus, pag. 93.

(*b*) Uſſer. antiq. Brit. p. 375.

(*c*) Flaherty Ogygia, p. 483, 484, &c.

(*d*) Uſſer. antiq. Brit. p. 375. Vardæi in vit. S. Rumoldi.

that were no more in being; for *Keneth* is called *Rex Pictorum*, and not *Rex Pictiniæ* or *Pictaviæ*, which were the names of their kingdom.

AND I doubt not, but that if we had extant any writer of our own country contemporary to, or near the time of the union of the *Scots* and *Picts*, we ſhould find *Keneth* and his ſucceſſors recorded, as well kings of the *Picts* as of the *Scots*, and alſo meet with abundance of proofs of the *Picts* ſubſiſting after the union: but we have no writers now remaining of any note, till long after the name of *Picts*, as well as the people themſelves, by being incorporated and intermixed thoroughly into one people with the *Scots*, as entirely diſappeared, as if they had been quite rooted out: ſo no wonder if our later writers gave not to *Keneth* or his ſucceſſors the title of king of a people, whom they ſuppoſed were no more in being. And thence it happened, that tho' 'tis not to be doubted but *Fordun*, and ſuch other of our writers as wrote after him, in the fourteenth and fifteenth age, had before them more ancient hiſtories which might have afforded greater light into the *Pictiſh* affairs; yet all theſe later writers, ſtruck with the total diſappearance of the *Pictiſh* people and language, thought it a greater honour to *Keneth* and the *Scots*, according to the depraved taſte of thoſe ignorant times, to ſet them out, as having generally extirpated ſuch a numerous and powerful people, than to have barely ſubdued them, and united them into one people with their own.

IT was not ſo with the other foreign writers in our neighbourhood whom I have mentioned before. They were not concerned, or perhaps informed whether the *Picts* were in thoſe times diſtinctly known or not; but not being ſtruck with the impreſſion which their univerſal diſappearance made upon the *Scots*; and being unconcerned in the falſe honour of a total extirpation, they delivered with ſimplicity ſuch accounts as they found of the *Picts* in their more ancient hiſtorians, which (*a*) *Caradock*, and the (*b*) author of the appendix of *Nennius* among the *Welch*, and (*c*) *Tigernack*, as well as the *Ulſter* annals among the *Iriſh*, had peruſed. And what is farther remarkable in the two laſt (to wit, *Tigernack*'s chronicle and the *Ulſter* annals, two of the moſt authorized pieces among the *Iriſh* writers) they are both moſt particular in their accounts of the ſucceſſion and reigns of the kings of the *Scots*, both before and after their union with the *Picts*, (and *Tigernack* wrote in the eleventh age before the name of the *Picts* was out of uſe) and yet neither of them give ſo much as any inſinuation of the pretended extirpation of the *Picts*, but quite the contrary; for in the ſame manner as ſince king *James* the ſixth's acceſſion to the throne of *England*, he and his ſucceſſors have been called frequently, by

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(*a*) Uſſer. antiq. p. 375.
(*b*) Lynch Cambren. Everſ.
(*c*) Uſſer. ibid.

foreign or *Engliſh* writers, kings of *England*, from the more numerous and powerful kingdom; by others, kings of *Great Britain*, from the two kingdoms united: ſo the *Ulſter* annals, and *Tigernack*, who call all king *Keneth*'s predeceſſors ſimply kings of *Scots*, or of *Dalredia*, change the ſtyle inſenſibly after *Keneth*'s acceſſion to the *Pictiſh* throne: and ſome of them, as the *Ulſter* annals, and the appendix to *Nennius*, call *Keneth* and his ſucceſſors kings of the *Picts*, from the more numerous and powerful people; others, as *Tigernack*, call them, kings of *Albany*, from the united kingdom.

But it is not only the ſilence of the *Welch* and *Iriſh* authors, on the pretended extirpation of the *Picts*; and their continuing to mention the *Picts*, after their union with the *Scots* as before, as a people ſtill dwelling in *Albany*, that atteſt the *Picts* continued ſubſiſting after king *Keneth*'s time; but we have no leſs clear proofs of the ſame matter from the *Saxon* or *Engliſh* hiſtorians or writers in every age, down to the twelfth.

The moſt ancient of them, who lived near to the time of the union of the *Picts* and *Scots*, is *Aſſerius Menevenſis*, who, though in his chronicle he gives an account of the tranſactions of thoſe times, not only of what paſſed in *Britain*, but in *France*; yet he hath not one word of ſo remarkable an event, as the extirpation of the *Picts*, which he could not have omitted, had there been any ſuch thing, they having been one of the moſt ancient and powerful nations in *Britain*; eſpecially having mentioned them on much leſs occaſions. But as a demonſtration that he was far from thinking them extinct in *Keneth*'s time, he (*a*) ſpeaks of them by name, *A. D.* 875, as being, with other people of the iſland, harraſſed by the *Danes.* Moreover, the *Saxon* (*b*) chronicle and (*c*) *Ethelwerd*, two of the moſt ancient *Saxon* writers after *Aſſerius*, as they are entirely ſilent on the pretended extinction of the *Picts*, ſo they both mention them as a people ſtill ſubſiſting in *Albany*, upon occaſion of that irruption of the *Danes*, A. D. 875; and thus much for the ninth age, in which the union was made.

THAT the *Picts* were ſtill ſubſiſting in the tenth age, and made a part of the ſubjects of the kings of *Albany* or *Scotland*, we have plain proof from the ſame *Ethelwerd* (*d*), in his chronicle, *A. D.* 937; and more particularly from (*e*) *Ingulfus* his contemporary, who both relate that the *Picts* made a part of the army of *Conſtantine* king of *Albany*, at the battle of *Brunford*, againſt *Adelſtan* king of the *Saxons.* In the eleventh age, we have accounts of the *Picts* ſtill known by their own name, in the

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(*a*) Aſſer. chron. p. 165. edit. Gale.
(*b*) Chron. Saxon. p. 83. edit. Gibſon.
(*c*) Ethelwerd, fol. 481.
(*d*) Ethelwerd f. 483.
(*e*) Ingulf. p. 37. edit. an. 1684.

laws attributed to *William* the conqueror, and publiſhed by *Selden* in his notes upon *Eadmer* (*a*). But as that copy of the conqueror's laws is of little or no authority, we have a certain account of the *Picts* ſtill remaining inhabitants, at leaſt of *Galloway*, and other parts of the weſt of *Scotland*, and yet known by their own name in the eleventh and twelfth ages; and this from a letter of *Radulf* (*b*), archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to pope *Callixtus*, about the year 1122. In fine, *Richard Prior* of *Hexham* (*c*), in the twelfth age, informs us, as an eye-witneſs, of the *Picts* making part of king *David* I.'s army, *A. D.* 1137, at the battle of the *Standard*; and calls them, nine different times, by their own proper name of *Picts*: but it is remarkable, that this author, who lived in the time, and in the neighbourhood, informs us, that the *Picts* were then commonly called *Galweyenſes.*

FROM this expreſſion we learn two very important things, concerning the *Picts*, 1°. That it was about this time that the name of the *Picts* began to be eclipſed; and ſoon after, we find *Huntington* telling us, they were heard of no more, than

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(*a*) Eadmer. p. 190.

(*b*) Scriptor. Angl. col. 1746. n. 30.

(*c*) Ric. Hagulſtaden. apud. X. Scriptor. Angl. col. 1322. l. 24, 34. col. 316. n. 34. col. 317. l. 10. col. 318, n. 14, 24, 44. col. 319. n. 51. col. 291. n. 60. Picti qui vulgo Galweyenſes dicuntur. *Idem. col.* 316. *n.* 34.

than if they never had been. 2°. Tho' the name came to be diſus'd, yet the people themſelves, of the *Pictiſh* race, ſtill ſubſiſted under the name of *Galweyenſes*, from the province where they dwelt; and ſo it probably happen'd in other provinces of *Scotland*, ſuch as *Moravia*, *Murray*, whence the *Picts* of theſe parts have been call'd *Moravienſes*, as thoſe in *Galloway* were call'd *Galweyenſes*; and perhaps, from the *Picts* in *Murray* being ſo call'd, may have taken riſe that tradition mention'd by ſome (*a*) writers of the *Murray* men, *Moravienſes*, their coming into *Albany* at firſt, under one (*b*) *Rodricus*, and giving origine to, as ſome (*c*) ſay, or rather joining the *Picts* in ancient times: and it ſeems, the race of *Picts* in *Murray*, after their name was grown out of uſe, continued ſtill there under the name of the province: and the frequent rebellions and diſturbances which the *Moravienſes* gave to our kings *Alexander* I. *David* I. and *Malcolm* IV. ſeem to confirm that they lived not eaſily under the government of our *Scotiſh* kings, and affected, as well as thoſe of *Galloway*, a kind of independency, till at laſt king (*d*) *Malcolm* IV. was obliged to tranſplant the inhabitants of *Murray*, *Moravienſes*, and diſperſe them into different parts of the kingdom, and plant *Murray* with new inhabitants, about the year of our Lord 1159. By this it

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(*a*) Boeth l. 4. f. 54, 55, 56, n. 38.

(*b*) Uſſer. p. 303.

(*c*) Math. Weſtm. ad an. 75. p. 55.

(*d*) Chron. Paſlat. MS. biblioth. regiæ Lond. l. 8. c. 6.

it appears, that the leading men of the *Picts*, who ſurvived their laſt battles, and defeats given them by *Keneth*, retired partly to *Galloway*, partly to *Murray*, as to the two extremities of the kingdom, and were not ſo eaſily brought to ſubmit to the *Scotiſh* government, as the commonalty throughout the country.

BUT it is to be remark'd in the firſt place, that *Galloway* (*Galweya*) was of much larger extent in ancient times, and even in the twelfth age, than it is of late; and that *Galloway* and *Louthian* included all thoſe provinces of *Scotland* that lie to the ſouth of the *Friths* of *Clyde* and *Forth*. The laws of (*a*) *Regiam Majeſtatem* ſeem to be a plain proof of this. And by charters of king *David* I. (*b*) it appears, that *Galloway* in thoſe times included, beſides the country now call'd *Galloway*, thoſe of *Carick*, *Kyle*, *Cuningham*; as alſo that of *Renfrew*, as may be collected from a bull of pope (*c*) *Alexander* III. and ſo perhaps a part of *Clydeſdale*. It appears alſo, that in thoſe ancient times, *Galloway* was look'd upon as diſtinct from (*Scotia*) *Scotland*, and conſequently had its laws and cuſtoms diſtinct by itſelf, as is manifeſt by

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(*a*) Omnes illi qui ultra Forth manſerint in Laudonia, Galwidia vel aliis locis, reſpondebant calumniatoribus de Scotia. *Reg. Maj. l.* 1. *c.* 17. *n.* 8. Ibid. c. 20. n, 10.

(*b*) Chart. vet. Glaſg. f. 2. Ch. David.

(*c*) In Cartul. eod.

many of our ancient (*a*) laws and acts of parliament.

ON the other hand, 'tis certain that the *Picts*, as they were longer diſtinguiſh'd in *Galloway*, by their own name, (as we have ſeen) ſo they made, ſince their union with the *Scots*, a greater figure in *Galloway* than any where elſe in *Scotland*, that we know of: and firſt, it appears by (*b*) *Malmeſbury*, that the *Picts*, (and he joins the *Scots* with them) invaded that country ſome time before their union, upon the decay of the *Bernician* kingdom; the (*c*) *Polychronicon* ſays they were the *Picts* only that ſeiz'd on *Galloway*, and took it from the *Saxons*. In the twelfth age, the monk (*d*) *Joceline*, who lived in the neighbourhood, in the life of St. *Mungo*, calls *Galloway* the country of the *Picts*; and the *Picts* being the inhabitants of *Galloway*, became ſo famous, that in the beginning of the twelfth age, (*e*) *Ralph*, archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, calls the biſhop of *Galloway* (*Candidæ Caſæ*) the biſhop of the *Picts*.

(*a*) Reg. Majeſt. l. 1. c. 17. Stat. Alex. II. c. 2, 17. Quon. Attachiam. c 72, 78. Stat. Rob. I. c. 14.

(*b*) Malmesbur f. 155. n. 5.

(*c*) Sedes Candidæ Caſæ . . . depopulatione Pictorum a ditione Anglorum omnino (defecit) *Polychr. p.* 207.

(*d*) Pictorum Patria — quæ modo Galwedia dicitur. *Joc. in vit. S Kentegerni ap. Bolland. n.* 34.

(*e*) Epiſt. Radulf. Cant. ad Calliſt. Pap. X. ſcript. col. 1746.

By all this it appears, 1°. That on *Keneth*'s taking poſſeſſion of the *Pictiſh* kingdom, thoſe of the *Picts* that ſtood out againſt his title, retired in a body chiefly to *Galloway*, and there fortified themſelves, till being forced to ſubmit to the *Scots*, they retained ſtill ſome of their liberties, and had not only peculiar laws and cuſtoms, but proper princes of their own, tho' depending on the crown of *Scotland:* as it appears that *Galloway* had *Fergus*, *Uchtred*, *Rolland*, and *Alan*, among whoſe daughters it was divided; and it is remarkable, that our kings, in ancient times, in the addreſs of their (*a*) charters, mentioned the *Galweyenſes* by their own name, (when they were concern'd) diſtinct from the *Scots*, and their other ſubjects.

From what hath been ſaid before, it appears in the ſecond place, that a great many of the inhabitants of *Galloway* were originally *Picts*, not only of the commonalty, as in other provinces anciently poſſeſs'd by the *Picts*, but even of the beſt and greateſt families: ſince, as we have ſeen, there's no doubt to be made, but many of the leading men among the *Picts*, who ſurvived *Keneth*'s victories, retired to *Galloway*. And if I were not afraid of being thought too great an adverſary to popular traditions, on which alone I find our modern writers ground their opinion of the de-

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(*a*) Chartul. vet. Glaſg. Chart. Dav. I fol. 2. Malc. IV. f. 3, 52. Willelm. f. 4, 52.

deſcent of the male-race of the royal line of the *Stuarts* from the *Scots-Iriſh* line, I ſhould be apt to think that there's a much greater probability of their being deſcended of the *Picts*, or ancient *Britains*, whoſe progeny, as well as that of the *Scots*, and ſome remains of the *Saxons*, were the inhabitants of *Galloway* in its old extent, including all theſe weſtern countries on the ſouth-ſide of *Clyde*. Since that ancient family of the *Stuarts*, from the firſt time we have any account of it on aſſured records, was ſeated in theſe parts, as is clear, as well by the chartulary of *Paſlay*, as by a bull of pope *Alexander* III. (a) *A. D.* 1179, addreſs'd to the proprietors of *Galloway*, (*Galwellen*) among whom *Alan*, ſon to *Walter*, is reckon'd one of the chief. And a proof that the *Stuarts* are not deſcended from the *Scots-Iriſh*, is, that never any of the families bore, in ancient times, any *Scots-Iriſh* name, as all our kings of the *Scots-Iriſh* line did, till *Malcolm Keanmore*'s children, and ſome others afterwards, as *Donald*, *Malcolm*, *Duncan*, &c. but the common names of all the firſt we know of the race of the *Stuarts*, were *Alan* and *Walter*, names neither in thoſe times, nor at any time before, ever in uſe among the *Scots* that came from *Ireland*.

But let that be as it will, it is certain, that both the *Picts*, and (as we have made appear elſewhere) the ancient *Britains* were the inhabitants of theſe parts; and we have a proof of it, from the addreſs of ſome (*a*) charters of ſeveral of our kings to their ſubjects of the dioceſe of *Glaſgo*, (as has been remark'd) where, beſides the *Scots*, the *Engliſh*, who were the remains of the *Saxons*, and the *Franci*, who were ſome *Norman* families lately come in; the *Galwejenſes*, who were the *Picts*, as we have ſeen; and the *Walenſes*, *Welch*, or *Britains*, are diſtinctly named. This mixture of ſo many ſeveral different nations, who poſſeſs'd that country, occaſioned, about the eleventh age, and beginning of the twelfth, that barbarity, or almoſt extinction of chriſtianity among the inhabitants, which is deſcribed by the author of the preface of the old (*b*) chartulary of *Glaſgo*, written about 500 years ago, where he mentions the ancient inhabitants of the dioceſe of *Glaſgo*, which he calls *Cumbrenſis regio*. *Jocelin* calls it *Cambrenſis*; and the author of St. *Ælred*'s (*c*) life, ſpeaking of *Galloway*, gives much the ſame character of the inhabitants. And tho' there's no doubt, but the expreſſions of theſe writers are ſomewhat hyperbolical, yet the mixture of ſo many different nations could not but have diſmal effects upon their moral conduct. To remedy theſe evils, our ancient religious kings found no means more proper than the reſtoring the epiſcopal ſees

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(a) Chartul. Glaſg.

(*a*) Vet. Chartul. Glaſg. f. 52, & 4.

(*b*) . . . diſpari gente & diſſimili lingua & vario more viventes . . . . gentilitatem potius quam fidei cultum tenuerunt. *Vet. Chart. Gl. f.* 1, 2.

(*c*) Vit. S. Ælredi MS. bibl. Coton. Tiberius E. 1.

of *Glaſgo* and *Galloway*, which, it appears, had been long without biſhops; and the erecting, in ſeveral places of theſe countries, (as their great men, among others, *Walter* ſon of *Alan*, predeceſſor of our kings, did by their example) abbeys or monaſteries of the moſt ſtrict and eſteemed religious men in thoſe times: by which means, and by the good laws and polity, which our kings inſtituted, thoſe countries became, by degrees, the moſt religious and moſt poliſh'd in the kingdom.

BUT to conclude this account of the *Picts*, I hope, by all we have ſhewn in the foregoing articles, among other things, it hath appear'd to the impartial reader, that the *Picts* are the progeny of the *Caledonians*; and by conſequence of the firſt, the moſt ancient and moſt valiant inhabitants of *Britain*; that their dominions far exceeded thoſe of the *Scots*, as did alſo the number and ſtrength of their nation; that their government was hereditary and monarchical; and in fine, that not only the total extinction of the *Picts* by king *Keneth*, is falſe and fabulous; but that the royal family, and preſent inhabitants of *Scotland*, are in general as well the deſcendents and progeny of the ancient *Caledonians*, or *Picts*, as they are of thoſe *Scots* that came in from *Ireland*; and have as good a title to the actions, religious or military, perform'd in ancient times by the one, as by the other. And this alone ſuffices to demonſtrate the antiquity, as well of the royal line, as of the generality of the inhabitants of *Albany*, or *Scotland*; ſo we are under no kind of neceſſity to have recourſe to the *Scots* who came from *Ireland*, for maintaining either the antiquity of the royal line of our kings, beyond any monarchy now in being, or the ancient ſettlement of the inhabitants in *Britain.*

BOOK II.

Of the Scots.

Introduction and Diviſion of this Second Book.

AFTER having put the ancient ſtate of the *Roman*, *Britiſh*, and *Pictiſh* inhabitants of the northern parts of *Britain* in the beſt light I could in the foregoing book; it remains now in courſe to treat of the *Scots*; a ſubject ſo much more important than the former, in that it is properly the end and ſcope of this whole undertaking. The *Britains* and *Picts*, as all other ancient inhabitants of the northern parts of this iſland, having by degrees been incorporated and cemented by conqueſt, alliances, and length of time, as we have ſhewn, into one people with the *Scots*, all the inhabitants, of whatever origine, have been known theſe many ages by no other name, and all the northern parts of *Britain*, united in one kingdom, have been alſo known only by the name of *Scotland*.

BUT it muſt be acknowledged that no part of the hiſtory of *Britain* is more intricate, involved in greater difficulties, and more liable to debates than what concerns the *Scots*. All is here conteſted; the origine of the *Scots*, the time of their coming firſt to *Ireland*, their firſt ſettlement in *Britain*, the antiquity of their monarchy there, its ancient extent, the number, and even the names of their ancient kings, as they are ſet down by their modern hiſtorians, much more their lives and actions: nay, the very name of *Scots* makes alone the ſubject of a conſiderable debate.

IT is chiefly within theſe two laſt ages that all theſe queſtions have been more warmly agitated: and ſome of the beſt pens of the three nations, *Scots*, *Engliſh*, and *Iriſh*, have been deſignedly employed about ſettling them, beſides what other foreign writers have ſaid upon the ſubject. So that it would ſeem, that whoever would by choice undertake this ſubject again, can ſcarce avoid the character either of being troubleſome to the publick, if he barely repeats what others have ſaid, or that of raſh and preſumptuous, if he ſhould pretend, after ſo many great authors, to put matters in a better light.

WHAT I have to ſay for this undertaking is, that it is a conſequence, and indeed the very end of my having already treated of the *Roman*, *Britiſh*, and *Pictiſh* ancient inhabitants of the northern parts of the iſland, and that the whole was none of my own choice; thoſe kind of debates having always appeared to me a very invidious task: but being prevailed on to ſet down my thoughts on the ſubject, I reſolved to write impartially what I conceived moſt conformable to truth, without regard to the many prejudices of the generality, either of my own, or of any other country concerned.

To give the reader therefore a general proſpect of the method which I deſign to follow in this ſecond book concerning the *Scots*; the moſt material queſtion to be examined, is to determine the time of their firſt ſettlement, and the beginning of their monarchy in *Britain*. All the reſt of the hiſtory of the *Scots* depends on that, and muſt take a quite different turn, according as that queſtion is reſolved. Now it being generally agreed, that the *Scots* of *Britain* are the offspring of the *Scots* in *Ireland*, nothing can be determined with certainty concerning the time of the firſt ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*, or the beginning of the monarchy, till that of the *Scots* in *Ireland* be firſt examined: for if the *Scots* were ſettled in *Ireland* 1200, or 1300 years before the incarnation, as the modern *Iriſh* writers pretend, the firſt ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Britain* might be with equal probability (as we ſhall ſhew) placed before the times of the incarnation, as the modern *Scotiſh* writers aſſert it. But if, on the other hand, the ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Ireland* ought to be placed no earlier than in or about the times of the incarnation; the *Epoch* of their ſettlement in *Britain* muſt neceſſarily be in proportion abated. From whence it follows, that we muſt make a different judgment of the remote, or high antiquities of the *Scots* in *Britain*, according as thoſe of the *Iriſh* are ſuppoſed to be certain, dubious or fabulous.

THIS being ſuppoſed, I ſhall, in conſequence hereof, divide this book concerning the *Scots* into two parts or ſections. In the firſt, before I enter into the examination of the high or remote antiquities of *Ireland*, I ſhall ſuppoſe them ſuch as the modern *Iriſh* writers deſcribe, to wit, that the *Scots* of the *Mileſian* race were ſettled in *Ireland* above one thouſand years before the incarnation; that *Herimon*, their firſt king, came from *Spain*, and reigned in *Ireland* in the eleventh, twelfth, ſome ſay thirteenth century, before the birth of Chriſt; that from this *Herimon* there continued in *Ireland* an uninterrupted ſucceſſion of kings of the *Scotiſh-Mileſian* race, with learning, laws, and other marks of a polite nation, during about 15 or 1600 years, down till St. *Patrick*'s time, who preached the goſpel in *Ireland* in the fifth age: and this is what I mean, throughout all this book, by the terms of *high or remote antiquities of the Iriſh*, which I am obliged frequently to make uſe uſe of for brevity, and to avoid repetitions of the ſame thing. Upon ſuppoſition of the probability or certainty of theſe high antiquities of *Ireland*, I ſhall, in this firſt ſection or part of this book, conſider the *high antiquities of the Scots* (by which I underſtand all along the opinion of thoſe who maintain, that the *Scots* were ſettled in *Britain*, and had a ſucceſſion of kings, from before the times of the incarnation, down till *Fergus* ſon of *Erch*) and after I have examined in general the probability of the ancient ſettlement and monarchy of the *Scots* in *Britain*, upon this ſuppoſition, I ſhall enter into a full diſcuſſion of the famous debate concerning the truth of the ſtory of the forty *Scotiſh* kings, before *Fergus* ſon of *Erch*, as it is ſet down by *Boece*, *Buchanan*, and their followers.

IN the ſecond ſection of this book I ſhall begin by examining the grounds of the high antiquities of *Ireland*, and the time of the ſettlement of the *Scots* in that iſland, that being a neceſſary preliminary to the diſcuſſion of the high antiquities of the *Scots* in *Britain*, with which I ſhall conclude, after having premiſed a ſhort account in general of the writers of the *Scotiſh* hiſtory, and particularly of ſome hiſtorical pieces (relative to the ſubject of which I am treating) and which either have not hitherto been publiſhed, or have not been taken notice of by our modern writers.

SECTION I.

Of the Antiquity of the Settlement and Monarchy of the Scots *in* Britain, *upon Suppoſition of the Certainty or Probability of the High Antiquities of* Ireland. *Together with a full diſcuſſion of the ſtory of the forty ancient Kings before* Fergus *Son of* Erch.

BEFORE I enter into the examination of the high antiquities of the *Iriſh* or *Scots*, which is to make the ſecond ſection of this ſecond book, in this firſt ſection, that I may with more freedom, and leſs offence to my own countrymen, be allowed to enquire into the certainty of the high antiquities of the *Scots* in *Britain*, and to ſet down what I think moſt conformable to truth. I ſhall endeavour in the firſt chapter to ſhew that the preſent inhabitants of *Scotland* ought to be very indifferent about theſe high antiquities; and that the *Iriſh*, in order to ſupport their own high antiquities, are more intereſted to maintain thoſe of the *Scots*, than are the preſent *Scots* themſelves.

IN the ſecond chapter, that I may not ſeem to have neglected the common opinion of the writers of our hiſtory for theſe three or four laſt ages, and to do all the juſtice I can to the abettors of the *Scotiſh* high antiquities; I ſhall endeavour to make it appear, that the *Scots* had as probable grounds to go upon for maintaining their early ſettlement in *Britain*, as the *Iriſh* can give in proportion for the early ſettlement, or high antiquities of the *Scots* in *Ireland*: ſo that thoſe *Iriſh* writers, who maintain the ſettlement of the *Mileſian Scots* in *Ireland* twelve or thirteen ages before the incarnation, have nothing with which they can juſtly reproach the *Scotiſh* writers, for placing the ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Britain* before the *Romans* entered it.

IN the third chapter (which will take up the greateſt part of this firſt ſection) on the ſame ſuppoſition of the *Scotiſh* high antiquities, or of their early ſettlement and ancient monarchy in *Britain*, I ſhall enquire at full length (as the importance of the ſubject requires) into the various accounts given by our hiſtorians of the forty, or forty-five *Scotiſh* kings preceding *Fergus* ſon of *Erch*, or king *Fergus* the ſecond.

CHAP. I.

Of the Debates of the Scotiſh *and* Iriſh *Writers, about the Antiquity of the Settlement of the* Scots *in* Britain: *that the preſent Inhabitants of* Scotland *ought to be very indifferent about the Iſſue of theſe Debates; and that the* Iriſh *are more intereſted to maintain the ancient Settlement of the* Scots *in* Britain *than the* Scots *themſelves.*

THERE has been now, for about two centuries, the warmeſt debates betwixt the Scotiſh and *Iriſh* writers, concerning the antiquity and ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Britain.* Both agree that the *Scots* came thither immediately from *Ireland*, at leaſt as to the generality of them: but the modern *Scotiſh* writers aſſert, and that with ſuch concern, as if the honour of the nation did in a great meaſure depend upon it; that their coming from *Ireland*, and the beginning of their monarchy in *Britain*, were before the incarnation: the modern *Iriſh* writers, with no leſs warmth, deny this ancient ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*, and affirm, that the *Scots* came from *Ireland* no ſooner than the fourth or fifth century of chriſtianity; and that the monarchy of the *Scots* in *Britain* began only in the beginning of the ſixth century.

AFTER ſo long and ſo fierce a paper war carried on with ſo much eagerneſs on both ſides, it would, no doubt, appear at firſt a very ſtrange paradox, to pretend that it is a matter entirely indifferent to the true honour of the preſent *Scots*, whether the *Scots* that came from *Ireland* were ſettled in *Britain* before the incarnation, or only after it; and that the *Iriſh*, and they alone, have a real intereſt for the ſupport of their remote antiquities; that the ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Britain* could be proved to have been before the incarnation.

AND yet as odd as this paradox ſeems at firſt, I hope it will appear much leſs ſurprizing, if matters be impartially conſidered. And firſt, as to the preſent *Scots*: the chief reaſon of their maintaining, with ſo much concern, the antiquity of their ſettlement and monarchy in *Britain* in the *Scotiſh* line is, that their modern hiſtorians ground their chief title to the moſt ancient monarchy of *Europe*, as well as their claim to all the warlike actions performed by the ancient inhabitants of the *North* of *Britain* againſt the *Romans* and provincial *Britains*, wholly upon their deſcent from theſe *Scots* that came from *Ireland*. Now if it can be made appear, 1°. That the preſent inhabitants of *Scotland*, both as to the commonalty, the nobility, and as to the royal family, either are not univerſally deſcended from thoſe *Scots* that came from

Ireland, or owe not chiefly to them what makes for their greateſt luſtre and honour in ancient times. 2°. That the preſent *Scots* derive a title to theſe warlike atchievements, performed againſt the *Romans* and *Britains*, independently of their deſcent from theſe *Scots* that came from *Ireland:* It will follow, that the preſent *Scots* ought certainly to be very indifferent about the time when the *Scotiſh* colony came from *Ireland* to *Britain*, whether before or after the incarnation.

1°. As to the commonalty: that the bulk of the nation is not the offspring of the *Scots* who came from *Ireland*, appears from this; that, as it hath been already ſhewn, many of the inhabitants, both of the north and ſouth, are deſcended of the *Picts*; many of the inhabitants of *Clydeſdale*, and of other parts of the weſt, are come of the ancient *Britains*; many of thoſe of the ſouth are deſcendents of the *Saxons*, of whom, beſides thoſe that were ſettled here of old, many others retired hither for refuge, and were received by our king *Malcolm* III. upon the invaſion of the *Normans*. Many of the *Normans* themſelves were received afterwards in *Scotland*, and got lands and poſſeſſions by the name of *Franks* from our kings, the immediate ſucceſſors of *Malcolm* III. as appears by the cartularies of our abbeys. Many of the inhabitants of *Catneſs*, *Roſs*, and ſome of the iſles, are deſcended from the *Danes*. The inhabitants of

Murray are ſuppoſed by (*a*) *Boece* himſelf to be of a different extraction, both from the *Picts* and *Scots*.

2°. As to the nobility and gentry, it is no leſs certain, that many of the beſt and moſt ancient families are not deſcended from the *Scots* who came from *Ireland*; for, beſides the remains of the *Britains* and *Picts*, a great many of the beſt families had their origine from foreign countries, as appears by their traditions and writs; by the account, as far as it may be depended upon, that (*b*) *Boece* himſelf and his followers give of thoſe who came in from *England*, *France*, and *Hungary*, about king *Malcolm* the IIId 's time; by the more certain teſtimony of the *Engliſh* (*c*) hiſtorians of the great numbers of the *Saxon* nobility that fled to *Scotland* from the oppreſſion of *William* the conqueror and his ſucceſſors; and by the ſirnames of many *Normans*, to whom our kings, ſucceſſors to *Malcolm* the IIId, gave lands in *Scotland*, as 'tis clear by many ancient charters, and chiefly by the donors and witneſſes in the chartularies of our monaſteries.

3°. As for the royal family of *Scotland*, by what hath been already ſaid of its (*d*) deſcent from

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(*a*) Boeth. lib. 12. fol. 56. edit. 1.

(*b*) Boeth. lib. 12. fol. 258. edit. 2.

(*c*) Tota nobilitas Angliæ tranſivit ad reges Scotiæ. *Math. Paris. pag.* 4.

(*d*) Supra, p. 141.

the *Picts*, I hope that it has been made appear that our kings as they lineally deſcend of the *Pictiſh* kings, according to the *Scotiſh* hiſtorians, ſo they poſſeſs, in the right of theſe ancient kings, the far greateſt part of the kingdom, and that they are no otherwiſe deſcended of the *Scotiſh* line which came from *Ireland*, than they are of the *Bruces* and *Stuarts*. So that as the placing the firſt king of the race of *Bruce*, and of *Stuart*, in the fourteenth century only, doth not derogate from the antiquity of the royal line or monarchy of *Scotland*, becauſe the ſucceſſion is carried up in the *Scotiſh* race in the ſame royal blood from which the *Bruces* and *Stuarts*, by marriages, had their right: ſo the placing the firſt king of the *Scotiſh* race in the fifth or ſixth century doth not prejudice the antiquity of the royal line or monarchy, ſince it is carried up time out of mind long before, in the race of the *Pictiſh* kings, from whom, by marriage, as well as by conqueſt, the *Scotiſh* kings had the right to the much greater part of *Albany* or *Scotland*.

So I hope it will appear, to any that will examine the hiſtory of the royal family of *Scotland* without prejudice, that the length or antiquity of the race in the *Scotiſh* line which came from *Ireland*, is of as little conſequence to it, as is the antiquity of it in the line of *Bruce* that came from *Normandy*, or in that of the *Stuarts*, which I conceive may be more probably derived from a *Pictiſh*, *Britiſh*, or *Norman* original, than from a

Scotiſh-Iriſh: ſo that the chief intereſt that our royal family hath, as to its antiquity, is in its deſcent from the ancient race of the *Pictiſh* kings, from whom, as to the far greateſt part of *Albany*, the right came by an heireſs to the *Scots*, as the right to the whole equally came by other heireſſes from the *Scots* to the *Bruces* and *Stuarts*.

THIS being ſuppoſed, and alſo granting that the ſettlement of the *Scots* and their monarchy in *Britain* in the *Scotiſh-Iriſh* line (which ſhall be examined) were of no older date than the fifth or ſixth age; the royal family of our kings in the *Pictiſh* line, and the antiquity of their monarchy in *Albany*, will thereby be at no loſs, but will ſubſiſt with more honour to the nation, and by more certain proofs from hiſtory, even with the allowance of the *Iriſh* themſelves, from what they eſteem their moſt authorized ancient writers, than it can do in the *Scotiſh-Iriſh* line, as we have ſhewn.

AND as to that kind of honour and reputation which depends upon valour and warlike actions, thoſe of the *Caledonians*, whom we have ſhewn to be the ſame people called afterwards *Picts*, are grounded upon the ſure foundation of the beſt of the *Roman* hiſtories, which cannot be equally ſaid of the *Scots*, and near three centuries before the name of the *Scots* was heard of in any ancient author. (*a*) I have already treated of the

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(*a*) Supra, pag. 44, 45.

exploits of the *Caledonians* in the *Roman* times, and ſhall have occaſion to ſet them down more at large in the ſecond part of this eſſay.

BUT, to fix the ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Britain* two or three hundred years after the incarnation, would not only not derogate from the honour of the preſent inhabitants of *Scotland*, or of their monarchy, as I have ſhewn, but it would ſeem rather a derogation from both, were it fixed before that time. For if we ſuppoſe, with the modern *Scotiſh* writers, that the *Scots* came from *Ireland* to *Britain*, and that their monarchy began in the weſt of *Scotland* above three hundred years before the incarnation; then it will follow, that for the ſpace of about ſeven hundred years theſe *Scots* remained confined to a little corner of what ſince compoſes the kingdom of *Scotland*, in an indolent, obſcure, diſpirited, and unknown condition, without either extending their narrow territories, or making any conſiderable effort to do it: ſince during all thoſe ages, and till about the middle of the fourth age, after the incarnation, their name is not ſo much as once found in hiſtory, whilſt that of the *Caledonians* or *Picts* was ſo renowned in the beſt hiſtories of the times. And that after ſo long a ſettlement in *Britain* we find the *Scots*, even in the ſixth age, ſtill confined to the weſtern coaſts and iſlands, their firſt habitation; without being able to extend their bounds on any ſide during 900 years, or if they did, they had been forced back to them again. Since it hath been already ſhewn from good authority, that in the ſixth age, and beyond it, the (*a*) *Picts* were ſtill peaceable poſſeſſors of all the north of *Scotland*, from the *Orknays* ſouthwards to the *Forth*, and beyond it, on one ſide of them: and that on the other ſome of the *Picts*, with the *Britains* and *Saxons*, were in poſſeſſion of the countries to the ſouth of the *Cluyd*.

Whereas if we ſhould ſuppoſe that the *Scots* came to *Britain* only about the third century of chriſtianity, and that their monarchy began only in the end of the fifth, or beginning of the ſixth age; that at the firſt appearance they make in *Britain* we find them join'd with the *Picts*, aſſaulting the *Roman* empire; that from that firſt appearance the *Roman* and *Britiſh* hiſtories never mention them, but as a warlike and ſtirring people, jealous of their own liberty, and ſtill active to extend their conqueſts on their neighbours. All theſe, and ſuch like conſiderations, ſupported by good authority, ſeem to give a much more noble impreſſion of the *Scots*, as a martial people, from their firſt entry into *Britain*, than to ſuppoſe that they were ſettled ſeven hundred years before, and lay all that time in an entire obſcurity, confined to a corner of the iſland.

So upon the whole we may now conclude, that it is a matter at leaſt very indifferent to the pre-

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(*a*) V. *Picts*, art. 5. §. 1 & 2. ſupra.

ſent inhabitants of *Scotland*, whether the coming in of the *Scots* from *Ireland* to *Britain* was before the incarnation, or in the third century after it.

On the other hand, as to the *Iriſh*, it is juſt the contrary; 'tis their intereſt alone to maintain the ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Britain* before the time of the incarnation, and to raiſe it therefore above all others, in order to ſupport their own high antiquities, and the ancient ſeries of their kings; for the baſis and foundation of all their high antiquities, being the ſettlement of the *Mileſian Scots* in *Ireland* many ages before the incarnation, whatever ſerves to prove this ancient ſettlement is of importance to them. Now nothing could prove this ancient ſettlement of the *Mileſian Scots* in *Ireland* ſo directly, as the ſhewing that they had been able, three or four ages before chriſtianity, to ſend forth ſuch a conſiderable colony, as that of the *Scots* in *Britain* is repreſented to have been in thoſe early times by the *Scotiſh* modern writers: whereas the *Iriſh*, by taking this ſupport away from their antiquities, and by bringing down the coming of the *Scots* to *Britain* to the fourth or fifth century of chriſtianity, leave the whole fabrick of the antiquity of the ſettlement of the *Mileſian Scots* in *Ireland* in a tottering condition, having nothing for the ſupport thereof but uncertain traditions, and the fabulous rhymes of their bards or ſeanachies, which we ſhall have occaſion to examine afterwards.

SO I leave it to any body to judge, whether the *Iriſh* are not more intereſted to maintain that the *Scots* were ſettled in *Britain* before the incarnation, than the preſent *Scots* are themſelves: and at the ſame time whether it be likely that the *Iriſh*, who without doubt have had, ſince they received chriſtianity in the fifth age, the uſe of letters, learning and writers among them, could either have omitted to take notice of, and record ſo conſiderable a tranſaction as that of the *Scots* coming from *Ireland*, and ſetting up a new kingdom in *Britain* in the fifth or ſixth age, or could continue to this day, both againſt their intereſt and knowledge, to maintain ſo poſitively and unanimouſly, that the monarchy of the *Scots* in *Britain* is no older than the fifth or ſixth age, if they had not good proofs for it.

BUT at leaſt it follows, from what we have ſhewn concerning the *Scots* in the foregoing obſervations, that one may, without the leaſt diſparagement of the preſent inhabitants of *Scotland*, very freely and impartially diſcuſs the truth of what their modern writers have advanced concerning their high antiquities, and follow what ſhall appear (all things conſidered) moſt conformable to true hiſtory and ancient authority, concerning the time of the ſettlement of the *Scots*, and beginning of their monarchy in *Britain*.

CHAP. II.

That if the Settlement of the Mileſian Scots *in* Ireland, *twelve or thirteen ages before the Incarnation, be once admitted, that of the* Scots *in* Britain, *before the* Romans *entered it, will follow in courſe, as being ſupported by Proofs of the ſame Nature.*

AFTER having ſhewed in the foregoing chapter, that the *Iriſh*, in order to ſupport their own high antiquities, ſeem to have greater intereſt than the preſent *Scots*, to maintain the ancient ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*, to omit nothing that may give light into the *Scotiſh* antiquities; and that I may not ſeem to have ſlighted or neglected the common opinion of the writers of the *Scotiſh* hiſtory, during theſe three or four laſt centuries; and to do all the juſtice I can to the aſſertors of the *Scotiſh* high antiquities; ſuppoſing here, as I do all along in this ſection, the truth or probability of the ancient ſettlement of the *Mileſian Scots* in *Ireland*, as the *Iriſh* writers will have it; I ſhall endeavour to ſhew, that upon that ſuppoſition, there is at leaſt as great probability of the ancient ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*, before the *Romans* entred it: ſo that thoſe *Iriſh* writers, that maintain the opinion of the *Mileſian Scots* ſettling in *Ireland* about 1200 years before the incarnation, have no juſt ground to reproach the *Scots* with adhering to their opinions, in favour of their ancient ſettlement in *Britain*, before the *Romans* firſt entry into it; ſince they may be as probably ſuſtained as thoſe of the *Iriſh*.

I do not here pretend, that there can be ſettled any fix'd dates, or epochs, of the firſt ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*, or indeed of any northern nation, before they had the uſe of letters, either from chriſtianity or from the *Romans* entring among them: the ignorance in which, I ſuppoſe, all the northern nations were, in thoſe early times, of all means or methods, to calculate and regulate dates of paſt tranſactions, render, in my opinion, all their pretenſions to any fix'd chronology abſolutely groundleſs; and their want of the uſe of letters, made it no leſs impoſſible for them to preſerve any accounts of particular circumſtantial facts. All that a rude and illiterate people, with the help of their ignorant venal bards, could retain, was ſome uncertain ſeries of genealogies, with ſome general traditions of more remarkable adventures of the nation, mixed with fables: all which their poſterity, after the uſe of letters was introduced among them, might have reduced into ſome rude form of hiſtorical narration, applying dates to it by conjecture.

NEITHER do I propoſe to treat in this chapter of the firſt government of the *Scots* in *Britain*, of the real antiquity of their monarchy, and of the certainty of their kings before *Fergus* ſon of *Erc*; that being a ſubject important enough to deſerve to be diſcuſſed a part, I ſhall therefore reſerve it for the following chapter. At preſent I propoſe to treat only in general of the ancient ſettlement of the *Scots*, and that only on the ſuppoſition of the truth of the *Iriſh* high antiquities; and to ſhew that there appears as great probability, from authority, of the *Scots* being ſettled in *Britain*, before the *Romans* firſt entered it, or at leaſt in the firſt ages of chriſtianity, as of their being ſettled in *Ireland* ten or twelve centuries, or indeed at any time before the incarnation.

THE authorities that the modern *Iriſh* writers commonly alledge, for the *Mileſian Scots* being ſettled in *Ireland* ſo many ages before the birth of Chriſt, may be reduced to two claſſes. 1°. Thoſe drawn from ſuch pretended MSS. ancient annals, or writers in the *Iriſh* tongue, as hitherto they have never thought fit to publiſh, either in their own language, or in a compleat and faithful tranſlation. 2°. Thoſe taken from ſuch writers, or pieces of antiquity, whether domeſtick or foreign, as are publiſhed whole and entire, ſo as the publick may be able to form a judgment of their authority, truth, and weight, and of the paſſages quoted from them, with relation to the character and age of the author, or credit of his work.

1°. As to the much-boaſted ancient annals, or writers of the hiſtory of *Ireland*, not as yet printed, we ſhall have occaſion to examine their credit, when we come to treat of the time of the ſettlement of the *Mileſian Scots* in *Ireland*. All I ſhall ſay here is, that no proof of any weight can be brought from thoſe pretended ancient writers, as long as they lie in the dark; becauſe no judgment can be made of their authority or credit, by ſome ſhort paſſages ſaid to be taken from them; nor indeed any account at all made of them, till they be firſt publiſhed whole and entire, with faithful tranſlations, and with an account where the originals are to be met with. This is a work that certainly deſerves the attention and labour of ſome of their learned and beſt ſkilled in the *Iriſh* language. This would be incomparably more for the honour of the *Iriſh* nation, if theſe ancient pieces anſwered the characters they have given of them, than all that they have written of them in modern pieces, grounded only upon quotations moſt part at ſecond hand copying from one another.

2°. As to the authorities drawn from ſuch writers, or pieces of antiquity, whether domeſtick or foreign, that are already publiſhed, relating to the antiquities of the *Scots*, either in *Ireland* or in *Britain*, it will be found, upon examination, that they will make at leaſt as much for the high antiquities of the *Scots*, as for thoſe of the

the *Iriſh.* To begin with domeſtick writers, *John Fordun*'s is the firſt general hiſtory extant in print, that gives an account of the *Scotiſh* high antiquities; and though he wrote only in the fourteenth century, yet there is no general hiſtory of the *Iriſh* extant, that we can hear of, printed or MS. that comes ſo near the times, in which the beginning of the *Mileſian Scotiſh* monarchy in *Ireland* is placed by them, as *Fordun* does to the age in which he places the firſt *Scotiſh* king in *Britain.*

PSALTAIR Caſhel is, by all I can learn, the moſt ancient general hiſtory of *Ireland* extant: the author (*a*) *Cormac Culinan* king of *Munſter*, and biſhop of *Caſhel*, was killed in battle, in the beginning of the tenth age; that is, about 2200 years after the time that the beginning of the monarchy of the *Mileſian Scotiſh* race in *Ireland* is placed: whereas, though *John Fordun* lived but in the fourteenth century, yet even that was within 1600 years of the time he places the beginning of the *Scotiſh* monarchy in *Britain.* So he wrote at leaſt 600 years nearer the beginning of the tranſactions he accounts for, than the moſt ancient now extant, even of the unprinted *Iriſh* hiſtorians. And if *Pſaltair Caſhel* quotes ſome poets or bards more ancient, ſo alſo *John Fordun* quotes *Chronica, & alia Chronica*, and ſeveral legends: all which are like to prove as credible vouchers, as the *book*

(*a*) Waræus de Scriptor. Hybern. p. 47, 48.

with the white cover, or that of *immigrations* or *conqueſts*, which they ſay are cited by *Pſaltair Caſhel*.

It is true, *Fordun* was only a prieſt, and not a king or biſhop as *Cormac*. But what helps *Cormac* might have procured to his work by authority, *Fordun* ſupplied by his application, labours and diligence, having travelled over *Scotland*, *England* and *Ireland* to collect materials for his hiſtory. And as for judgment or diſcernment betwixt true and falſe, I ſuppoſe there is nothing in the moſt fabulous part of *Fordun* that matches the ſtories of *Cain*'s three daughters and *Noah*'s niece coming to *Ireland*, and many ſuch other rare ſtories as are ſaid to be contained in *Pſaltair Caſhel*: but we ſhall be more able to make out the compariſon, when this royal hiſtory is as fairly publiſhed as *Fordun*'s is in two editions. In the mean time, what may be wanting to *Fordun*'s authority, may be made up by that of the eſtates of *Scotland*, who may well enough balance that of a king of *Munſter*. We have, in many copies of *Fordun*'s continuators, the *Scotiſh* memorials (*a*) and letters, in the beginning of the fourteenth age, authoriſed by the whole kingdom to the popes *Boniface* VIII. and *John* XXII. in which they aſſert the ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Britain* ſeveral ages before the birth of Chriſt.

(*a*) Fordun. edit. Hearn. p. 835, 883.

In the thirteenth age the ancient ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*, ſome ages before the incarnation, is alſo atteſted by a ſhort *Scotiſh* chronicle (*a*) in *Latin* verſe, commonly bound in with ſome MSS. of the *Scotichronicons*, of which we ſhall treat afterwards. And thus we ſee the antiquity of the ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Britain* witneſſed by our own country writers, whereof I have met with none as yet, that touch upon this point, more ancient than this thirteenth age. But we ſhall find foreign writers give teſtimony to it much farther back.

Such, in the eleventh age, is *Ethelwerdus* (*b*), the *Saxon* writer, who tells us, that in the firſt age of chriſtianity the emperor *Claudius*, who never went farther than *Britain*, met with reſiſtance and oppoſition from the *Scots* and *Picts*, in his deſign to conquer that iſland: and again, that the *Scots* and *Picts* made inroads on the provincial *Britains* in the emperor *Severus*'s time. Not to inſiſt on the (*c*) *Saxon* chronicle, (written at lateſt in the eleventh or twelfth age) which ſuppoſes the *Scots* were in *Britain* in *Julius Cæſar*'s time, when he ſays, that *Cæſar* returning from *Britain*

(*a*) In the appendix, num. 6.

(*b*) Reſiſtunt jugo Scoti Pictique. *Ethelwerd. hiſt. Angl.* f. 473. *Ibid. f.* 474.

(*c*) He ꝼoꞃleꞇ hiꞅ heꞃe abẏꝺan miꝺ Scoꞇꞇum. *Chron. Sax.* p. 2.

to *France*, left his legions among the *Scots*. This, to be ſure, is a miſtake, being a falſe tranſlation of *Bede*'s words, *Legiones in hyberna dimiſit*, by the author of the *Saxon* chronicle; but it ſhews, that this *Saxon* writer believed the *Scots* were in *Britain* in *Julius Cæſar*'s time.

In the beginning of the eleventh age, or at the end of the tenth, the life of St. *Cadroe* was written, and was publiſhed by *F. Colgan* in his collection of *Iriſh* ſaints, in folio; and again, by *F. Mabillon*, *Acta ſanctorum ord. S. Bened. to.* 1. but he retrenches the preface as ſuperfluous. In this preface, which *Colgan*'s edition contains, there is ſome account of the *Iriſh* antiquities, to which both *Colgan* himſelf and *Flaherty* refer for a proof of them. The author of that life gives this account of the origine of the *Scots*. He ſays they were called *Choriſci*, from *Coria*; but *Scoti*, and their country *Scotia*, from *Scota* an *Egyptian*, wife to *Nelus* or *Niulus*, their leader, who was ſon to *Æneas*, a *Lacedemonian*. After many pilgrimages, he gives them an ancient ſettlement in *Ireland*, without determining the time of their coming thither; and adds, that from thence (*a*), after ſome years, they came over the *Britiſh* ſea to the iſland *Jona*, and afterwards poſſeſſed the country of *Roſs*, and the towns of *Rigmoneth* and *Bellochor*;

(*a*) Fluxerunt quot anni & mare ſibi proximum transfretantes Eviam inſ. quæ nunc Jona dr. &c. *Colg. vit. S S. to.* 1. *p.* 494.

and that many years after that, they received the chriſtian faith by St. *Patrick.* Whence it follows, that the preaching of St. *Patrick* in *Ireland* was long after the ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Britain,* in which *Jona* and *Roſſia* are ſituated, as are alſo the towns of *Rigmoneth* and *Bellochor:* whereof the firſt can be no other than the ancient *Rigmonth*, or *Rigmond*, called ſince St. *Andrew*'s the metropolitan church of *Scotland*; and *Bellochor* is mentioned by an ancient (*a*) writer as a royal ſeat of the *Scotiſh* kings, where he ſays that king *Donald*, brother to *Keneth the Great*, died, *in palatio ſuo Bellochor.* But without entring here into the diſcuſſion of the truth of this narrative, it is clear, that at the ſame time that the author atteſts the *Scots* ancient ſettlement in *Ireland*, he gives a full teſtimony of their early ſettlement in *Britain*, very long before St. *Patrick*'s time.

In the ninth century, *Nennius*, a *Britain*, wrote his *Eulogium Britanniæ*, which in moſt of the MS. copies is attributed to *Gildas*, and contains a very confuſed and uncertain account of the *Britiſh* and *Iriſh* antiquities. However, it is the moſt ancient monument we have in print of both their origines, and was publiſhed by Dr. *Gale*, A. D. 1691. This author, after giving ſome account (*b*) of the origine of the *Britains*, of their ſettlement in the

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(*a*) Append. num. 3.

(*b*) Nennius, c. 2, 3, 4.

iſland, next brings (*a*) in the *Picts*, who, he ſays, were ſtill ſubſiſting in *Britain*, *A. D.* 832, when he wrote; and laſt of all, *noviſſime* (*b*) *omnium*, he ſays, the *Scots* came to *Ireland* from *Spain*; and ſo gives a brief account of the planting of *Ireland*, very different from what the modern *Iriſh* tell us. However, if his authority be good, as to the ancient ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Ireland*, it ought not to be queſtioned in what he relates of the time of the *Scots* firſt coming to *Dalrieta*, which, according to the (*c*) *Iriſh* and other writers, was the ancient name of the kingdom, or habitation of the *Scots* in *Britain*.

NENNIUS (*d*) tells us then, that the *Scots* came to *Ireland* 1002 years after the *Egyptians* were drowned in the red ſea; that the *Scots* came to the country of *Dalrieta (ad regiones Dalrietæ)* in the time that *Brutus* reigned (or rather was conſul) among the *Romans*, from whom the conſuls began, *&c.* Thus he makes a diſtinction betwixt the *Scots* coming to *Ireland*, and their ſettling in *Dalrieta*; and aſſigns different dates to each of theſe ſettlements; which plainly ſhews, that *Dalrieta* was a different country from *Ireland*, and ſo no other than the *Regnum Dalrietæ* in *Britain:* and accordingly *Nennius* had placed *Dalrieta* ex-

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(*a*) Nenn. cap. 5.
(*b*) Nennius, cap. 6, 7, 8, 9.
(*c*) Uſſer. Antiq. But. p. 320.
(*d*) Nenn. cap. 9.

preſly in *Britain* a little before, where he ſays, that *Iſtoreth* Son to *Iſtorinus* took poſſeſſion of *Dalrieta* in *Britain*, (*in* (*a*) *Britannia Iſtoreth filius Iſtorini tenuit Dalrietam cum ſuis*). The ſame *Nennius*, in the tenth chapter, makes a diſtinction betwixt the *Scyths*, or *Scots*, that came to *Ireland*, and the *Scyths*, or *Scots*, that dwelt in the *North* in his time, in the ninth age, and who, jointly with the *Picts*, had made war on the *Britains*, long before the *Roman* monarchy. *Scythæ autem* (*b*) i. e. *Scoti in quarta mundi ætate* (that is, from king *David* to the *Babyloniſh* captivity) *obtinuerunt Hyberniam: Scythæ autem qui ſunt in occidente & Picti de Aquilone pugnabant unanimiter & uno impetu contra Britones. Et poſt multum intervallum temporis Romani monarchiam totius mundi obtinuerunt.* Again, for a further proof that theſe *Scots*, that unanimouſly with the *Picts* made war on the *Britains*, were not a people of *Ireland*, but inhabitants of *Britain*, *Nennius* (*c*) tells us, that *Severus* the Emperor made his famous wall from ſea to ſea, betwixt the *Britains* on one ſide, and the *Picts*, and *Scots*, on the other; adding ſtill the ſame reaſon, becauſe the *Scots* from the *Weſt*, and *Picts* from the *North*, uſed unanimouſly to inſult the *Britains*. And thus we ſee, that the moſt ancient writer we hear of, for the *Iriſh* high antiquities, gives equal teſtimony to the ancient ſettle-

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(*a*) Nenn. cap. 8.

(*b*) Nennius, cap. 10.

(*c*) ibid. cap. 19.

ment of the *Scots* in *Britain*; for *Nennius* lived in the age before king *Cormac*, author of *Pſaltair Caſhel.*

IN the eighth age, *Bede* (*a*) may be brought as a witneſs of the *Scots* ancient ſettlement in *Ireland. Bede* ſuppoſeth, indeed, that the *Scots* were ſettled in *Ireland* before the incarnation; ſince he ſays, that the *Picts* found them there, who, according to his account, came to *Britain* before the *Romans* firſt entered it: but then, beſides that, *Bede* hath not a word of the *Scots* being ſettled in *Ireland* ten or twelve centuries before the incarnation, or of their deſcent from *Mileſius*, or of their ancient monarchy, or indeed any thing that can atteſt their high antiquity: beſides all this, if *Bede*'s authority may be depended upon, as to the remote antiquities of *Ireland*, and of the north of *Britain*; the coming of the *Scots* to *Britain*, before the *Romans* entred it, may be made no leſs clear, by *Bede*'s own words (*b*); where, giving account of the order in which the five Nations that had inhabited *Britain* came firſt into it, and whoſe languages ſtill ſubſiſted there, as yet in *Bede*'s time (to wit, the *Engliſh* or *Saxons*, the *Britiſh*, *Scotiſh*, *Pictiſh* and *Latin*, or *Romans*) he places the *Britains* firſt, *imprimis Britones ſolum*; the *Picts* in the ſecond rank; and after theſe two, he places the *Scots* the third nation that came in;

(*a*) Bed. lib. 1. c. 1.

(*b*) Bed. lib, 1. c, 1.

Procedente autem tempore Britannia poſt Britones & Pictos Tertiam *Scotorum Nationem recepit*; and then, after giving a ſhort account of *Ireland*, whence the *Scots* came, and of their firſt habitation in *Britain*, he ranks the coming in of the *Romans* to *Britain*, under *Julius Cæſar* (*a*) in the fourth place, and after the *Scots*, *Verum eadem Britannia Romanis uſque ad Cajum Julium Cæſarem inacceſſa atque incognita fuit*; as if he had ſaid, *Britain* was firſt inhabited by the *Britains*; the *Picts* came into it in the next place; after them came the *Scots* in the third place; but the *Romans* came not in till *Julius Cæſar*'s time, about the year 593 of *Rome*, and ſixty years before the incarnation. In fine, *Bede* places the coming in of the *Saxons*, *A. D.* 449, the laſt of all the five nations that had a ſettlement, at any time before *Bede*, in *Britain*, and whoſe language ſtill ſubſiſted in that iſland.

Thus we ſee a kind of continued tradition, for the *Scots* ancient ſettlement in *Britain*, carried up from age to age, till the ſeventh or eighth century. Not to inſiſt upon the teſtimony of *Sidonius Appollinaris*, who wrote in the fifth age, and ſuppoſes, that the *Scots* were in *Britain* in *Julius Cæſar*'s time, and that he fought againſt them,

. . . . *Victricia Cæſar*
Signa Caledonios tranſvexit ad uſque Britannos,
Fuderit & quanquam Scotum, & cum Saxone Pictum.

(*a*) Bede, lib. 1. c. 2.

Now though all thoſe authorities I have quoted may ſeem, and that deſervedly, to the learned criticks of this age, but very inconſiderable proofs of tranſactions paſt ſo long before the authors lived; yet, if compared with thoſe the *Iriſh* can bring for the ancient ſettlement of the *Mileſian Scots* in *Ireland*, thoſe I have brought for the ancient ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Britain* have a double advantage over them. 1°. Thoſe I have quoted for the *Scots* are all taken from authors already printed, and whoſe authority hath paſt the teſt of the publick. 2°. The lateſt of them, *John Fordun*, lived nearer the times he accounts for, to wit, the beginning of the *Scotiſh* monarchy, as he places it, in *Britain*, by five or ſix hundred years, than *Cormac*, author of the *Pſaltair Caſhel*, the moſt ancient general hiſtory that the *Iriſh* alledge, lived in regard of the *Mileſian Scotiſh* monarchy in *Ireland*, of which he is ſaid to give an account, and far higher, even up to the deluge, and before it. Beſides, that the two moſt ancient that can be alledged, *Bede* and *Nennius*, prove as much for the high antiquities of the *Scots*, as they do for the *Iriſh*; and ſo do moſt of the reſt whom the *Iriſh* bring to atteſt their high antiquities.

To conclude, though it muſt be owned that neither the *Iriſh*, for the ancient ſettlement of the *Mileſian Scots* in *Ireland*, twelve or thirteen ages before the incarnation, nor the *Scots*, for their ſettlement in *Britain* before the *Romans* entered it, can give any ſuch proofs of their pretenſions, as can ſatisfy the learned of the preſent age; yet I hope, by what hath been ſaid in this chapter, it will appear to unprejudiced readers, that the *Scots* have as much to ſay for their high antiquities, as the *Iriſh* have in proportion to ſay for theirs: ſince all the authorities the *Iriſh* bring from authors already printed, and received by the publick, for their high antiquities, prove equally thoſe of the *Scots*. So that thoſe of the *Iriſh* writers that will perſiſt to maintain the opinion of the *Mileſian-Scots* ſettlement in *Ireland*, twelve or thirteen centuries before the incarnation, can have no juſt cauſe to reproach the *Scotiſh* writers, who place the ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Britain* before the *Romans* (under *Julius Cæſar*) came firſt in to it.

CHAP. III.

Of the Government of the Scots *in* Britain, *upon Suppoſition of their ancient Settlement. Diſcuſſion of the various Accounts of the* Scotiſh *Hiſtorians, concerning the Government and Kings of the* Scots *in* Britain *before King* Fergus *the Son of* Erc.

HAVING ſhewn in the foregoing chapter, that on ſuppoſition of the ancient ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Ireland*, there is no leſs probability of their ſettlement in *Britain* before the incarnation; it remains now to examine, upon the ſame ſuppoſition, the nature of the government of the *Scots* in *Britain* in thoſe early times, and to enquire into the truth of the various accounts given by our hiſtorians of the kings preceding *Fergus* ſon of *Erc*, commonly called *Fergus* the ſecond.

THAT the government of the *Scots* in *Britain* (ſuppoſing their ancient ſettlement there) was from the beginning monarchical, ſeems to follow in courſe: they are ſuppoſed to have come in from *Ireland*, where, according to all the *Iriſh* writers, monarchical government, and that alone, was in uſe from all antiquity, and not the leaſt inſinuation in any of their writers of any other form: ſo the *Scots*, at whatever time they came to *Britain*, could ſet up no other beſides that, eſpecially conſidering there was no other form of government fitted for a rude multitude, particularly in an invaſion, and in making a new ſettlement, but that of being governed by a ſingle perſon, who either by birth, valour, wiſdom, or conduct had credit with, and an aſcendant over the reſt, who found ways to manage them, and keep order among them, and who had more skill and experience to lead them on againſt their enemies. Such an unpoliſhed multitude, as the *Scots* muſt have been at their firſt coming to *Britain*, were, no doubt, ignorant of all republican ſchemes, and muſt needs, when they came to make a ſeparate ſtate by themſelves, diſtinct from the *Picts*, have had a common leader or captain to head them in their encounters with, and in the oppoſition they would meet with from the ancient inhabitants, before they were able to make fixed habitations; and the ſucceſs of their enterprize would apparently engage them to entail the government on this leader and his family.

ACCORDINGLY *John Fordun*, and after him all our other hiſtorians agree in general, that the *Scots* in *Britain* were from the beginning governed by kings: that *Fergus* ſon of *Feradac*, or *Ferchard*, was the firſt, and they place his reign 330 years before the incarnation: that from this *Fergus* downwards to a ſecond *Fergus* the ſon of *Erc*, the *Scots* had a conſtant ſucceſſion of kings in *Britain*, during the ſpace of about 700 years: but as to the genealogy or lineal deſcent, the names, the number, the lives and actions of the kings before *Fergus* ſon of *Erc*; the rights of monarchy of the *Scotiſh* kings in general, there is a great difference betwixt the accounts of the firſt, and lateſt of our *Scotiſh* hiſtorians.

THESE accounts given by them of the kings before *Fergus* the ſecond, whom they all place about the beginning of the fifth age of chriſtianity, may be all reduced to two claſſes. 1°. That of *Fordun*, and of all our monaſtery books, his tranſcribers or continuators. 2°. That of *Hector Boece* and his followers, among whom *Buchanan* deſerves the chief attention, as being in greater vogue at home and abroad than any of the reſt.

ART. I. *Of the account given by* John Fordun *and his followers, concerning the kings of the* Scots *in* Britain, *before the reign of* Fergus, *called the ſecond, ſon of* Erch.

JOHN FORDUN, a prieſt of the dioceſe of St. *Andrew*'s, (*a*) chaplain of the church of *Aberdeen*, lived in the time of the kings, *Robert* the ſecond and the third, being contemporary with cardinal *Walter Wardlaw*, biſhop of *Glaſgow*, who died *A. D.* 1386. He compiled the hiſtory of the *Scots* in five books, from the beginning, till the death of king *David* the firſt, *A. D.* 1153, and left ſome collections towards a continuation; all which were publiſhed *A. D.* 1722, with great fidelity and exactneſs by the learned Mr. *Hearne*, who embelliſhed his edition with a curious ſearch of all that concerns *Fordun*'s hiſtory, to which I refer the reader, and ſhall only obſerve, that this chronicle of *Fordun* was continued down by *Walter Bower*, abbot of *Inch-Colm* [*Æmoniæ inſulæ*] and other writers of the fifteenth age, till the death of king *James* I. *A. D.* 1437; and the whole work compoſed of *J. Fordun*'s five books, and of the continuation of the hiſtory by different hands, till the aforeſaid year 1437, is commonly known by the title of *Scotichronicon.*

(*a*) Liber Paſlat. in bibl. reg. London.

THE occaſion of *John Fordun*'s writing the *Scotiſh* hiſtory, and the pains he was at in collecting materials for it, are deſcribed by one of his continuators, not long after his time, in the preface to the chronicle (*a*) of *Couper*; where we are told, that during the debate betwixt *John Baliol* and *Robert Bruce*, about the right of ſucceſſion to the crown of *Scotland*, king *Edward* I. of *England*, known by the ſirname of *Longſhanks*, having got himſelf choſen umpire in that debate, under pretence of compoſing thoſe differences, and of regulating the ſucceſſion according to the precedents of former reigns, and conformable to the ancient laws and uſages of *Scotland*, cauſed all the libraries of that kingdom to be ſearched, and gathered up all the ancient hiſtories of the *Scotiſh* nation; as he did alſo all the publick records, charters and writs, containing its rights and privileges: all theſe, I ſay, king *Edward* cauſed be gathered up, *A. D.* 1291. under pretence of examining by them the right of the competitors; having alſo in his view to ſearch into them for proofs of his pretended ſuperiority over *Scotland*. And when he had got into his hands all that could be found of them, he carried up ſome of them to *England*, and cauſed all the reſt to be burnt and deſtroyed. *Aliquantas ſecum & ad Angliam abſtulit, reliquas vero flammis incinerandas deſpicabiliter commiſit*, ſays the author of the pre-

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(*a*) Præf. libri MS. B. M. de Cupro infra.

face to the *Couper* chronicle. And by this, *Scotland* remained deſtitute of hiſtorians, and the natives in great ignorance of paſt tranſactions.

Besides the authority of the chronicle of *Couper*, and others, ſet down afterwards at length, we have too viſible proofs of the deſtruction of our ancient hiſtories and records, ſome ten years after this havock made of them, in the famous debate (*a*) betwixt the *Scots* and this king *Edward* I. *A. D.* 1301, before pope *Boniface* VIII. concerning the independency of the crown of *Scotland*, where both the inſtructions which the prelates, barons and conſuls of *Scotland*, (as they are called) gave to their deputies at the court of *Rome*, and the memorial drawn up by *Baldred Biſſet*, the principal of theſe deputies, for maintaining the rights of the nation, as well as the letter of the *Scotiſh* nobility, *A. D.* 1320, to pope *John* XXII. All theſe pieces contain ſuch evident marks of a general ignorance of the ancient hiſtory and ſtate of *Scotland*, and lean ſo much on conjectures and uncertain popular traditions, that ſeemed to make for the cauſe under debate, but abſolutely irreconcileable with all the remains we have of the true ſtate of the northern parts of *Britain* in ancient times; that this alone might ſuffice to prove, that the *Scots* at that time were generally deſtitute of all ancient monuments of true hiſtory.

(*b*) Fordun. edit. Hearn. p. 835, 883.

And this general ignorance of our ancient hiſtory continued down till *John Fordun* compiled the *Scotiſh* chronicle in a new form, that ſuited beſt with the taſte of the times in which he wrote. In order to that, ſays the author of the aforeſaid preface, *Fordun* ſpared neither labour nor diligence to reſtore the hiſtory of his country: and for that end travelled over all *Scotland*, ſearching every where the libraries, churches, monaſteries, colleges, univerſities, and towns, gathering together whatever remains he could meet with to his purpoſe; diſcourſing alſo with learned men verſed in hiſtory: nay, not content with that, he travelled alſo, ſays my author, into *England* and *Ireland* upon the ſame ſearch, ſetting down carefully the informations he received as materials for what he intended. Thus furniſhed, he returned home and ſet to work. And upon all he had collected within and without the kingdom, he framed to himſelf a new ſyſtem of a chronicle of *Scotland*, in five books, beginning at the height of antiquity, and continued down to the death of king *David* I. *A.D.* 1153. But before we proceed further, it is neceſſary to give an account of this laborious work of *Fordun* in the proper words of the author of this preface to the chronicle of *Couper*, who living in *Fordun*'s time, or very near it, may be depended on, as furniſhing the beſt account we have of *Fordun*'s labours on our hiſtory.

As to the barbarous ſtyle of this preface, I hope the beginning of the fifteenth age, when this writer lived, before the reſtoration of learning, and of the purity of the *Latin* tongue, may be a ſufficient apology for the ſtyle of this, and other ſuch pieces of theſe times.

(*a*) *SECUNDUM veteres ſanctiones, laudabilis antiquitas patribus & priſcis obſervata, non ſolum approbanda a modernis eſſe digneſcitur, ſed & imitanda. Enimvero nonnulli ante noſtra tempora, luculenter ſatis inclytorum & validorum Scotorum geſta, veridico ſatis ſtylo & memorabiles chronicas ſcriptis reliquerunt. Quæ quaſi omnia ſua ſaltem ante tempora membranis commendata, ille truculentus tortor Edwardus* III. (*b*) *poſt ultimum conqueſtum, rex Angliæ dictus Langſchankis, & tyrannus, poſtquam ſuboriri cœpit diſſentionis materia inter præcellentes principes Broyſos,* viz. *& Balliolos, ſuper juris pocioritate ſuccedendi in regnum, violenter abſtulit & delevit. Attendens ipſe proptera regnum diviſum, & per præſens* (*c*) *veriſimiliter deſolandum, finxit ſe velle tractare quæ pacis erant, tanquam amicabilis compoſitor, & amicus inter partes, ſub ovili vellere allecta ſibi callidè ejuſdem regni Scociæ procerum una parte, & ſic ſibi reliqua reſiſtere non valente, ejuſdem ſibi regni de facto uſurpavit cuſtodiam, & oppreſſionem. At ipſe ſtatim occaſione, ut prætendebat,*

(*a*) Præfat. chronici B. Mariæ de Cupro MS. penes D. Ricard. Hay. (*b*) Sic. (*c*) *Forte* partes.

cognoſcendi, quis eorum per vetuſtorum grammatum indagationem, pleniorem in regno vindicare poterat facultatem, rimatis regni cunctis librariis, & ad manus ejus receptis autenticis & antiquatis hiſtoriarum chronicis, aliquantas ſecum & ad Angliam abſtulit, reliquas vero flammis incinerandas deſpicabiliter commiſit.

POST quarum quidem chronicarum amiſſionem, inter paucos alios ad recolligendum deperditas, exurgens quidem venerabilis presbyter Johannes Fordun, Scotus nomine, ad fortia manum miſit, & patrio zelo titillatus efferbuit, nec tamen ab incœptis deſtitit, donec laborioſis ſtudiis, tam Angliâ, quam aliis circumvicinis provinciis peragratis, tanta illinc & in propria, de amiſſis recollegit, quoaduſque quinque librorum volumina, de delectabilibus geſtis Scotorum, ſicut apud Scotichronicon in magno interſeruntur, chronicaliter ſatis compegit. In hoc laudanda eſt hominis induſtria. Attendens ipſe, quod non hominis ſed numinis proprium eſſe convincitur, cuncta memoriæ commendare, idcirco & ipſe pedeſter, tanquam apis argumentoſa, in prato Britanniæ, & in oraculis Hyberniæ, per civitates & oppida, per univerſitates & collegia, per eccleſias & cœnobia, inter hiſtoricos converſans & inter chronographos perendinans, libros eorum annales contrectans, & cum eis ſapienter conferens & diſputans, ac tabulis ſuis dipticiis quæ ſibi placuit intitulans, tali fatigabili inveſtigatione, quod non novit invenit, atque in ſinuali ſuo codice, tamquam in alveario inventa, quaſi mellifluos favos, accuratè

accuratè congeſſit: & ipſa, ut præmiſi, in quinque libros, uſque ad mortem ſanctiſſimi regis David (*a*) *filii ſanctæ Margaretæ, eleganter intitulavit, &c.*

BY this 'tis evident, that the *Scots* had formerly good, ancient, and authentick chronicles and annals, as well as other nations; we ſee the occaſion of the loſs of them, and *John Fordun*'s indefatigable labours, to find materials for a new body of hiſtory. But, after all his travels, his materials for the *Scotiſh* hiſtory, eſpecially in the moſt ancient times, were ſtill very lame, and would have made no great figure, if ſet down alone; therefore, to remedy this, and make ſomething like a body of hiſtory, *Fordun* was forced, where he wants other materials, to run out upon the general hiſtory of *Europe*, civil or eccleſiaſtical: beſides that, the ſucceſſion of the emperors, and ſuch other chief tranſactions, were in a great meaſure neceſſary for connecting the few particulars *Fordun* had recovered of the *Scots*, with a fixed order of chronology, as he hath done all over his hiſtory.

ACCORDINGLY, to reduce it to a regular method, he divides it into five books, each of which contain a particular period or age of the *Scotiſh* hiſtory, and begins with a remarkable *Æra*. The firſt book contains, in his account, about 1175 years, from *Gathelus*, his leaving *Egypt* in *Moſes*'s time,

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(*a*) Filium MS.

A. M. 3689, (according to *Fordun*'s account) to the beginning of the *Scotiſh* monarchy in *Britain*, under *Fergus*, ſon of *Ferchard*, *A. M.* 4864. This book, beſides foreign matters, contains the firſt origine of the *Scots*, as was then believed, from *Geythelos*, or *Gathelus*, ſon to *Neolus*, a king of *Greece*, his going to *Egypt*, where he eſpouſed *Scota*, daughter to *Pharao*, in *Moſes*'s time: upon the *Egyptians* being drowned in the red ſea, *Gathelus* left *Egypt*, and went to *Spain*, from whence the *Scots* ſent thrice to *Ireland*. 1°. *Hyber*, ſon to *Geythel*. 2°. *Micelius*, or *Mileſius*'s ſons, *Eremon* and *Partholan*; but, according to *Fordun*, *Eremon* returned to *Spain*, and ſucceeded his father. 3°. *Simon Breac*, who carried with him the fatal ſtone, and ſettled in *Ireland*: from *Ireland* the *Scots* ſpread themſelves, firſt, into ſome iſles of *Britain*; that of *Rothſay* was ſo called from *Rothay*, or *Rothſay*, who paſt over among the firſt *Scots* to that iſland. Others of the *Scots* came over gradually, and ſettled in *Britain*; and *Fergus*, ſon of *Ferchar*, or *Feradac*, came over about 330 years before the incarnation, and made himſelf the firſt king of the *Scots* in *Britain*.

FORDUN's ſecond book contains the *Scotiſh* hiſtory, from the ſetting up the monarchy by *Fergus* ſon of *Ferchar*, *Anno* 330 before the birth of Chriſt, during the ſpace of 733 years, till another famous *Æra*, whereof we have the firſt account from *Fordun*, to wit, the reſtoration of the

Scotiſh monarchy in *Britain*, *A. D.* 403, according to *Fordun*'s account, by king *Fergus* II. about forty years after that kingdom had been ruined by *Maximus* the uſurper.

THE third book contains the hiſtory of the *Scots*, from *Fergus* II. ſon of *Erch*, *A. D.* 403, during the ſpace of 428 years, till the reign of king *Alpin*, father to king *Keneth*, who united the *Pictiſh* and *Scotiſh* kingdoms.

THE fourth book contains the hiſtory from king *Alpin*, and the famous *Epoch* of the union of the *Pictiſh* kingdom with that of the *Scots*, during the ſpace of about 236 years, till the reign of *Malcolm Keanmore*.

THE fifth book of *Fordun*'s chronicle, begins with the reign of *Malcolm Keanmore*, *A. D.* 1056. and contains the hiſtory of 96 years, till the death of king *David* I. *A. D.* 1153.

SO we have from *Fordun* the form at leaſt of a continued hiſtory, or chronicle of the *Scots*, from the higheſt antiquity, till the twelfth age, and downwards. And indeed, if it be conſidered, what a ſad condition our hiſtory was in when *Fordun* undertook it, it muſt be acknowledged, that it required a great labour, and no ſmall capacity and knowledge for theſe times, to have brought it into the regular form and method in which he hath left it. This chronicle was in ſo great eſteem in thoſe days, that all our monaſteries, and other churches, which had been deprived of their ancient hiſtory in king *Edward* I.'s time, as well as the reſt of the kingdom, did ſo univerſally adopt *Fordun*'s chronicle, as the ſtandard of our hiſtory, that it bore, in after-ages, the general name of *Scotichronicon*; and each monaſtery making only a few inconſiderable additions to it, and continuing it down, gave it its name: Hence it was called *Liber Paſlatenſis*, *Sconanus*, *de Cupro*, &c. after the names of the ſeveral monaſteries which adopted, tranſcribed, and continued it.

THUS far as to *Fordun*'s chronicles in general. We are now to conſider the accounts he gives of the kings, of the government, and monarchy of the *Scots* in the times preceding the reign of king *Fergus* ſon of *Erch*, or *Fergus* II. In his firſt book, as we ſaid before, after the vulgar ſtories of the *Scots*, under *Geythelos*, or *Gathelus* and his poſterity, their coming from *Greece* to *Egypt*; from thence to *Spain*; from *Spain* to *Ireland*; and from that to *Britain*; he gives the following account of the beginning of the *Scotiſh* monarchy in *Britain*, and of the origin of the regal and legiſlative power among them: That the firſt *Scots* came over, by degrees, from *Ireland* to *Britain*; that being a confuſed headleſs multitude, without laws or government, and expoſed to the oppreſſion of the

Picts, (*a*) *Fergus* ſon of *Ferchard*, of the ancient race of the *Scotiſh* kings of *Ireland*, a brave prince, carried over with him to *Britain* a gallant troop of young men, and gathering together the *Scots*, that had hitherto lived up and down among the *Picts*, and uniting them into one people with thoſe he brought along with him, and ſettling them on the *Weſtern* coaſts, and in the iſlands of *Britain*, he made himſelf the firſt king over them (*Super eos Regem primum ſe conſtituit*) and thus he founded the monarchy (*b*), making laws and ſtatutes for the government of his new kingdom, and ſettling the limits of it. And this, by the way, is the moſt ancient account that the *Scots* in *Britain* can bring, from hiſtory or record, of the firſt original of regal or legiſlative power among them.

6. FROM this *Fergus*, called the firſt, down to *Fergus* the ſecond, during the ſpace of above 700 years, (*c*) *Fordun* ſays, there reigned forty five kings over the *Scots* in *Britain*, of the ſame nation and kindred; and accordingly, (*d*) he gives the genealogical ſeries or deſcent, in the direct line, from this *Fergus* I. ſon of *Ferchard*, down to *Fergus* II. ſon of *Erch*, which we ſhall ſet down afterwards at length; and it is the only an-

(*a*) Fordun, lib. i. c. 34.
(*b*) Fordun, l. 2. c. 12.
(*c*) Fordun, l. 3. c. 2.
(*d*) Idem. l. 5. c. 50.

cient genealogy of theſe *Scotiſh* kings, which we find ſtill the ſame in all writers, of different ages, and different countries; nor is there any other genealogy to be met with, till *Hector Boece* produced a new one, never heard of, that we can learn, before his time. But it is further to be remarked, that *Fordun* gives us this bare ancient genealogy, and no more; for he tells us neither the lives, nor actions, nor times of the reigns, nor even ſo much as the diſtinct names of his forty five kings, neither in his ſecond book, where he propoſes to treat deſignedly of them, nor any where elſe; nor does he, in ſetting down the names, from father to ſon, in the genealogy, inform us who of them were kings, and who not. He only names as king, *Rether*, or *Reuther* the V^th. in the genealogy from *Fergus* I. and ſays, he was the ſame that *Bede* calls *Reuda*; and one king *Eugenius*, whom he calls uncle to *Erch*, who was father to *Fergus* II. But as to all the other forty five kings preceding this *Fergus*, *Fordun* owns ingenuouſly, that for the preſent he could ſay nothing diſtinctly of their reigns, becauſe he had not found any full account of them (*a*). And in this ſtate he left ſeven centuries of the *Scotiſh* hiſtory, being forced to fill up all thoſe ages with extracts from the *Roman*, *Britiſh*, or general hiſtory, for want of materials of that of the *Scotiſh*, notwithſtanding his ſo laborious and diligent ſearches after them. But

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(*a*) Fordun, l. 3. c. 2.

we ſhall have further occaſion to ſpeak of this chronicle of *Fordun* more than once hereafter, and to examine the credit and grounds particularly of this part of it that concerns the forty five kings. What we have ſet down here, is only in order to ſerve us in the diſcuſſion we are to make of the grounds and credit of the hiſtory, as it is delivered by *Boece*, *Buchanan*, and their followers, which we are to inquire into in the next articles.

7. THE continuators or abbreviators of *Fordun*, during the fifteenth age, were many, and thoſe of the moſt learned of the *Scotiſh* nation of thoſe times, in what related to hiſtory, and who had the faireſt occaſion, that any writers could have, of acceſs to all that remained of ancient monuments of the *Scotiſh* hiſtory; ſuch were *Walter Bower*, or *Bowmaker* abbot of *Inch-Colm*, *Patrick Ruſſel* a *Carthuſian*, the chronicle of *Couper*, and others ſtill extant; yet none of them, though they made additions to other parts of *Fordun*'s hiſtory, have made any new diſcoveries as to the forty five kings preceding *Fergus* II. nor any addition to the little that *Fordun* contains of theſe kings; but all of them, after repeating over his lame account of them, conclude that whole period of theſe forty five kings with *Fordun*'s (*a*) own words, *A primo quidem hujus regni rege Ferguſio filio Ferchar*

(*a*) Fordun, lib. 3. c. 2.

ad hunc regem Ferguſium filium Erch incluſivè quadraginta quinque reges ejuſdem gentis & generis in hac inſula regnaverunt. Sed & horum ſingillatim diſtinguere tempora principatuum ad præſens omittimus : nam ad plenum ſcripta non reperimus. Thus *Fordun* concludes all he had to ſay of the forty-five kings: and thus after him, in proper terms, all his continuators repeat them. In a word, all of them agree with *Fordun*, or rather barely copy after him, in the genealogy and number, and in the ſame ſilence of the diſtinct names, lives, and actions of theſe forty-five kings, and all of them give the ſame reaſon of their ſilence, to wit, the want of a full account of them; all of them give alſo the ſame original of the monarchy among the *Scots* in *Britain:* and this was all the light we had in that firſt *Epoch* of our hiſtory, till *A. D.* 1526, that *Hector Boece* publiſhed his new diſcoveries, of which we are next to treat.

ART. II. *Of* Hector Boece, *and his account of the firſt forty kings of the* Scots *in* Britain.

§. I. *Of* Hector Boece, *and his hiſtory in general.*

HECTOR Boece or *Boethius*, born in *Dundee*, ſtudied in the univerſity of *Paris*, and there commenced maſter of arts, *A. D.* 1494. He was contemporary with his countryman *John Major*, who alſo ſtudied and taught with great reputation in that univerſity. *Boece*, ſpeaking of him and of ſome other divines that flouriſhed there in his time, ſhews a ſingular reſpect for them: *Theſe men,* (*a*) ſays (*a*) ſays he, *I will ever have in veneration, their doctrine I will always admire.* Now 'tis to be remarked, that *John Major* and his diſciple *James Almain*, writing about theſe times in defence of the doctrine of the *Gallican* church, concerning the ſuperiority of general councils over the pope, ſeem to have had no clear notion of the diſtinction of the eccleſiaſtical and civil powers, and venturing ſometimes out of their own ſphere, which was ſcholaſtick divinity, they drew very irregular conſequences from the one of theſe powers to the other: but theſe conſequences, in regard of the civil powers, were afterwards ſolemnly diſavowed and rejected by thoſe (*b*) that maintained the ſame doctrine as to the eccleſiaſtical.

HOWEVER, theſe dangerous notions ſeem to have had ſome influence on *Boece*, in the hiſtorical work which we are about to examine. He informs us, that he was called away from *Paris* by biſhop *Elphinſton*, before he had finiſhed his ſtudies. The occaſion of that good biſhop's inviting him, and as many other learned men in different faculties, as he could draw to *Aberdeen*, was in order to aſſiſt him in forming the univerſity he had newly founded at *Old Aberdeen*, his epiſcopal ſeat. *Boece*, upon his coming, was made canon of *Aberdeen*, and principal of the new college. He had been particularly acquainted at *Paris* with the famous *Eraſmus*, and they kept after-

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(*a*) Boeth. vit. epiſcop. Aberdon. fol. 27.

(*b*) Richerius vindic. doctrinæ majorum, *p.* 320. *ed. Col.* 4to.

wards a correſpondence by letters. Among others of *Eraſmus*'s letters to *Boece*, there's one in which *Eraſmus* gives him a catalogue of all he had publiſhed to that time.

In effect, *Boece* was one of the firſt in theſe northern parts, who, by aſſiduous reading, and imitation of the ancient *Latin* authors, began to reſtore the *Latin* tongue to its purity, inſtead of that barbarous ſtyle, which, from the fall of the *Roman* empire, had over-run all till later ages. This is eaſy to perceive in *Boece*'s works when compared with the other writers, before, or about his time. The firſt that he publiſhed was the lives of the biſhops of *Aberdeen*, A. D. 1522. But what chiefly rendered him famous was the hiſtory of the *Scots*, whereof the firſt edition was printed at *Paris* by *Badius Aſcenſius*, A. D. 1526. Another edition, with a continuation by *John Ferrerius*, was publiſhed alſo at *Paris*, A. D. 1575. After the death of biſhop *Elphinſton*, A. D. 1514, *Boece* continued in the ſame degree of credit under his ſucceſſors, the biſhops *William Stuart* and *Gawin Dunbar*. But after much ſearch at *Aberdeen* and elſewhere, I could no where find an account how long he ſurvived the publiſhing his hiſtory, *A. D.* 1526. All I have (*a*) met with concerning him ſince that time is, that I found him witneſs to a charter of biſhop *Gawin Dunbar*, dated the fourteenth of *December*, 1529, deſigned thus [*Teſt. Hec-*

(*a*) Cartul. Aberdon. in biblioth. jurid. Edinburg. fol. 158.

tore Boetio ſacrarum literarum profeſſore, collegii Aberdon. primario.]

As to his hiſtory of the *Scots*, he informs us in his dedication to *James Beaton*, archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, and chancellor of *Scotland*, that his intention in writing the *Scotiſh* hiſtory at the intreaty of his friends, was to put the brave actions of the *Scots* in a brighter light, and to excite the learned to read them, by writing them in a more accurate and elegant ſtyle of *Latin*; whereas the barbarous ſtyle of the former writers of our hiſtory had made it be neglected by the learned, and buried in oblivion. It appears alſo by the whole tract of his hiſtory, that his aim was to repreſent the monarchy of the *Scots* in *Britain* as one of the moſt ancient kingdoms, to remove from the ancient *Scots* the character of barbarous, and ſet them out in the earlieſt times as a polite, civiliz'd people, that acted all by common-councils and regular aſſemblies, whilſt moſt other northern nations remained as yet uncultivated; to extol the valour of the *Scots* in ancient times, their battles againſt the *Romans*, and victories over them, in times that generally all other known nations were forced to be under their yoke.

But one of his chief views all through his hiſtory, ſeems to have been what he inſinuates, both in his epiſtle dedicatory to the king, and in that to the archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, to ſet down patterns to the young king *James* the fifth, during whoſe minority this hiſtory was penned, and to his ſucceſſors, by the models which it preſents of virtuous kings always attended with proſperity; and to frighten them from vice, by the puniſhment and tragical ends of wicked princes, as well as to keep them in awe by the frequent examples he relates, of their having been called to an account by their nobles, and puniſhed by them for their mal-adminiſtration.

§. II. *Of the vouchers or authorities on which* H. Boece's *hiſtory is grounded.*

BUT the queſtion I am here to examine is, the truth of his relations and grounds of his hiſtory; and that depends in great meaſure on the credit of his vouchers, or monuments of ancient hiſtory, on which that of *Boece* is built: thoſe he mentions are the chronicle of *Inch-Colm* (*Inſulæ Æmoniæ*) biſhop *William Elphinſton*'s hiſtory, that of *Turgot* biſhop of St. *Andrew*'s; but chiefly thoſe of *Veremundus*, *John Campbel*, and of *Cornelius Hybernicus*. I ſuppoſe this laſt furniſhed *Boece* with accounts of the *Scots*, before their coming from *Ireland* to *Albany*.

AS to the chronicle of *Inch-Colm* (*Inſulæ Æmoniæ*) written by *Walter Bower* abbot of that monaſtery, who continued *John Fordun*, doctor *Gale* had informed us, that a copy of *Fordun*, which belonged formerly to *Boece*, was extant, and in his poſſeſſion, as it ſtill remains in that of his ſon *Roger Gale* Eſq; who was pleaſed to favour me with a ſight of it: it is the ſame which, as I obſerved already, was publiſhed by Mr. *Hearne*, A. D. 1722. And there is a great appearance that all the real bottom that *Boece*, or rather the compilers of his memoirs, had to go upon, was the firſt five books of *Fordun*'s hiſtory; how far he hath followed them will appear by what we have to ſay of his performance: but 'tis ſomewhat ſurprizing that *Boece* never once mentions *John Fordun*'s hiſtory by his own name, tho' we are aſſured that he had it in his poſſeſſion.

WILLIAM Elphinſton biſhop of *Aberdeen*, died *A. D.* 1514. *Boece* ſays that this biſhop wrote the hiſtory of *Scotland*; and he propoſes to himſelf, above all others, to follow *Elphinſton* in his hiſtory. There is indeed in the *Bodleian* library a MS. hiſtory of *Scotland*, in a hand about *Elphinſton*'s time, which was given to that library by general *Fairfax*, as being biſhop *Elphinſton*'s work. It is divided into eleven books, whereof the firſt five are *John Fordun*'s chronicle *verbatim*; the following ſix are of ſome one of *John Fordun*'s continuators, whether biſhop *Elphinſton*, or another, is uncertain: but if this were biſhop *Elphinſton*'s genuine work, which is not very likely, then we muſt ſuppoſe that *Boece* intended to impoſe upon his readers, when he tells us that he chiefly imitated, or followed biſhop *Elphinſton* in his hiſtory.

For this *Bodleian* MS. being, as to the firſt part, entirely *Fordun*'s, it is abſolutely different from the memoirs that *Boece* hath followed, ſince it hath nothing but a few lines of the forty firſt kings, as we have ſeen, and entirely differs from *Boece* in the names and order of the royal deſcent, or genealogy of the kings, from *Fergus* the firſt till *Fergus* the ſecond, as well as in the calculation of years.

AND we have another proof from a very certain work of biſhop *Elphinſton*, that he knew not, at leaſt in the year 1509, three or four years before he died, any other account of our hiſtory but that which *Fordun* had left. This is the *Breviary* of *Aberdeen*, according to the uſe or rite of the church of *Scotland*, done by biſhop *Elphinſton*, or by his care, and printed by his order at *Edinburgh* the aforeſaid year 1509, whilſt he was biſhop of *Aberdeen*. Now in this *Breviary*, where he relates the firſt planting of chriſtianity in *Scotland*, there's not one word of king *Donald*, whom *Boece* makes our firſt chriſtian king; and in the legend of (*a*) *S. Palladius* under king *Eugenius*, the author keeps cloſe to *Fordun*'s chronology, very different from that of *Boece*.

THE next voucher of *Boece*, for his hiſtory, is *Turgot*, biſhop of St. *Andrew*'s. Now all we have heard hitherto for certain of the *Scotiſh* hiſtory,

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(*a*) 6 July.

from *Turgot*'s pen, is the life of *S. Margaret* queen of *Scotland*, which is often quoted by *Fordun*, and others, and ſtill remains: and why might not his hiſtory of *Scotland* have been ſeen alſo by others, beſides *Boece*, and ſtill remained to poſterity, if he had truly wrote ſuch a hiſtory? At leaſt *Fordun*, who frequently quotes *Turgot*'s life of queen *Margaret*, could not have failed to have alſo quoted his hiſtory of *Scotland*, if he had found it, and in his diligent ſearches through *Scotland* and *England*, of all the monuments of the *Scotiſh* hiſtory, he could not have miſſed, I think, to have met with that of *Turgot*, had there been any ſuch extant in his time.

THUS we ſee the whole weight of the credit of *Boece*'s hiſtory, eſpecially of the reigns of the firſt forty kings, and indeed of all that it contains of theſe ancient times, over and above what we meet with in *Fordun*, is at laſt reſolved into the authority of *Veremundus* and of *John Campbell*; and he gives us this account how he came by them.

THAT he had them from *Ycolmkill*, which, ſays he, from the days of king *Fergus* II. had been appointed by him for the depoſitary of publick records on this occaſion: that this king (*a*), during his exile, had aſſiſted *Alaric* at the ſacking

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(*a*) Boet. hiſt. præfat. ad Jacob. V. fol. 3. & Hiſtor. Scot. fol. 114.

ing of *Rome*, A. D. 409; and that whilſt others carried off gold and ſilver, *Fergus* had choſen for his ſhare of the plunder a cheſt of books, which he carried off with him; and after his reſtoration, placed it in *Ycolmkill*, ordering that iſland to be thenceforth the depoſitary of all publick monuments of hiſtory, and eſpecially of the *Scotiſh* annals, and appointing keepers to take care of them: that when king *Edward* I. deſtroyed or carried off all our publick records and monuments of hiſtory, thoſe of *Ycolmkill* eſcaped; and that from this iſland *Boece* had the works of *Veremundus* and *John Campbell*, with other ancient pieces of hiſtory ſent him to *Aberdeen*.

But to paſs over here thoſe exploits of *Fergus* II. and what is ſaid of *Ycolmkill*, where the monaſtery was not founded till about 160 years after thoſe times, I cannot but obſerve, that there appears here ſome want of memory in *Boece*, in what he ſays of the place appointed for the preſervation of our annals and hiſtories, for *A. D.* 1522: four years before he publiſhed his hiſtory, in his lives of (*a*) the biſhops of *Aberdeen*, *Boece* had informed us, that tho' *Fergus* II. had indeed appointed at firſt *Ycolmkill* for the keeping the mo-

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(*a*) Inde [*ex Jona inſula*] ſed multos poſt annos ut Reſtennothii (munitio eſt in Anguſia, ubi nunc canonicorum D. Auguſtini cœnobium) quod ad Jonam difficilis admodum erat aditus, noſtri annales inde traducti reſervarentur, Alexander primus rex edixit. *Boeth. præfat. ad vitas Epiſ. Aberd.* f. 1.

numents of our hiſtory; yet, long after, king *Alexander* I. conſidering the diſtance of *Ycolmkill*, and the difficult acceſs to it, had cauſed our annals, and other monuments of hiſtory, to be removed from that iſland, and tranſported to *Reſtennoth* in *Angus*. So we were to look no more for any thing of that kind from *Ycolmkill*. At leaſt it appears by this, that *Boece* knew nothing, *A. D.* 1522, of *Veremund*, or his other famed records of *Ycolmkill*; and accordingly he tells us, (*a*) that they were ſent to him only in the year 1525. And yet, by the beginning of the next year 1526, his whole hiſtory, a large volume in folio, grounded chiefly on theſe records, was finiſhed: ſince his epiſtle dedicatory to king *James* V. (which is commonly the laſt thing an author puts his hand to) is dated *April* 1, *A. D.* 1526, and the volume itſelf came out in print at *Paris*, that very ſame year. This was a wonderful diligence, not to call it precipitation, in a work that for its difficulty, and the obſcurity of theſe ancient times, ſeemed to require much maturity and diſcuſſion; and for its importance, to deſerve them. This, with the apparent contradictions above-mentioned, concerning the place whence he brings his records, is certainly no good omen in the beginning of the hiſtory which we are to examine, and would make one apt to conjecture, that *Boece* found the body of his hiſtory done to his hand, by ſome body

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(*a*) Boet. hiſt. fol. 114.

that had not a mind to appear; and that he had nothing to do, but give it his own turn, ſtyle and order.

However that be, before I enter upon the diſcuſſion of *Boece*'s hiſtory, and the vouchers he brings for it, I cannot but do him that juſtice to think that he had aſſuredly, when he publiſhed his hiſtory, copies of hiſtories or memoirs, bearing the names of *Veremund*, *Corn. Hybernicus*, and of *John Campbel*; and that he believed theſe were tranſcripts of ancient hiſtorical monuments of *Ycolmkill.* For whatever may be thought of *Boece*'s credulity, or even his inclination to invent, and magnify what relates to his country at the expenſe of truth, it ſeems ſimply incredible that he could have, in his epiſtle dedicatory to the king, publiſhed over the kingdom ſo notorious facts, if there had not been books or writings ſent him, bearing the names of *Veremundus*, *John Campbell*, &c. but there is no means left to free him in like manner from want of diſcernment of ancient writings, and alſo from ſimplicity and too great credulity in taking on truſt whatever writings or memoirs were given him, as taken from ancient hiſtories or records, or even from a great inclination to enlarge on the inventions of others, if he was not himſelf capable to invent.

For I think it may be clearly made out to any that are converſant in what aſſured monuments remain of the ancient ſtate and hiſtory of *Britain*, that the writings and memorials that paſſed under the name of *Veremund* in *Boece*'s time, (the ſame thing I ſay of *John Campbel*, and the other vouchers of *Boece*'s hiſtory of the firſt forty kings, and all it contains of thoſe times, over and above what is to be found in *John Fordun*) are but late inventions about *Boece*'s own time; and ſo the whole fabrick of his ſtory of the forty kings, which he built upon the authority of thoſe vouchers, is without any ſolid foundation; and, 'tis probable, was only intended to ſerve a turn.

§. 3. *Proof firſt againſt the vouchers of* Boece'*s hiſtory. The ſilence of all former writers.*

THE firſt proof of the writings or hiſtories attributed to *Veremundus* and *John Campbel*, their not being the genuine works of authors of the eleventh, twelfth, or thirteenth age, as *Boece* ſuppoſes, but inventions of later times, is that they had never been heard of before *Boece*, tho' greater inquiry had been made after pieces of that nature by former writers than *Boece* either did or could make.

ABOUT 130 years before *Boece* wrote, *John Fordun*, as we have ſeen (*a*), in order to reſtore the *Scotiſh* hiſtory deſtroyed by king *Edward* I.

(*a*) Præf. Chron. Cupren. ſupra. p. 205.

travelled over all *Scotland*, ſearching all churches, monaſteries, libraries, colleges, *&c.* for monuments or records of the ancient hiſtory of *Scotland:* nay his zeal for that good work carried him to travel through *England* and *Ireland*, upon the ſame ſearch, taking informations from all perſons of learning, or that were verſed in hiſtory, and ſparing neither labour nor expence. Now if *Ycolmkill* was ſo well known, as *Boece* and our modern hiſtorians will have it, for the place chiefly appointed in paſt ages for preſerving our annals, records and hiſtories, can it be imagined that *John Fordun*, in all his travels through *Scotland*, *England* and *Ireland*, in all his ſearches through churches and monaſteries for hiſtorical records, would have omitted to ſearch the monaſtery of *Ycolmkill* alone, where he might be ſure to find more records of *Scotiſh* hiſtory than in all the reſt together?

And if he went to *Ycolmkill* upon ſuch a deſign, having copied out, and made his collections in every place where he came, would he have omitted to take notice of ſuch ancient, ſo full and particular accounts of the hiſtory of the kings before *Fergus* II. as *Boece* ſays that *Veremund* and *Campbel* contained? And if he had found the hiſtory of the firſt forty kings ſo fully and ſo diſtinctly ſet down, as it is by *Boece* from *Veremund* and *Campbel*, would he have deliberately told us, as he does, that he had paſſed over theſe kings, becauſe he had found no diſtinct or full account of them in writing? eſpecially ſince the accounts that *Fordun* gives of the reigns of our kings, from *Fergus* II. till near *Malcolm Keanmore*, which appear ſo lame to us, ſeemed full enough to *Fordun* to be diſtinctly ſet down.

AGAIN, ſince *Fordun* ſets down the ſeries or ſucceſſion of the *Pictiſh* kings, tho' he had no more than their bare names, and the years of their reigns, would he have omitted to have given us at leaſt the ſeries, with the names and years of the reigns of the firſt forty or forty-five kings, if he had any where met even with that? eſpecially if it be obſerved, that in all appearance one of the chief motives of *Fordun*'s travels and ſearches was to find out materials for the hiſtory of theſe firſt forty, or, as he calls them, forty-five kings; he being the firſt, that we know of, who makes mention of them. Since then *Fordun* could find no account of the actions, nor years of the reigns, nor even of the diſtinct names of theſe ancient forty-five kings, nor any thing but the bare genealogy, and gives us only the names of three of them, tho' he travelled ſo far, took ſo much pains, made ſuch diligent ſearches every where, for whatever could give any light into the *Scotiſh* antiquities, tho' he had the greateſt and moſt learned of our countrymen of that age to aſſiſt him, ſuch as cardinal *Wardlaw*, and others; what credit can be given to the new diſcoveries never heard of before, made by *Boece*, who never travelled a foot, that we hear of, out of his college of *Aberdeen*, to look after them?

THE continuators of *John Fordun*'s hiſtory do furniſh us with another unanſwerable proof, that thoſe particular accounts of the firſt forty kings, which *Boece* ſays he met with in *Veremund*, and his vouchers, were not extant either in *Ycolmkill*, or any where elſe in *Scotland*, in the age preceding *Boece*. There are ſtill remaining many copies of *Fordun*, with continuations of his hiſtory done by different hands. The chief authors were *Walter Bower* or *Bowmaker*, abbot of *Inch-Colm*, *Patrick Ruſſel* a *Carthuſian* monk of *Perth*, the chronicle of *Couper*, the continuation of *Fordun*, attributed to biſhop *Elphinſton* in the *Bodleian* library, and many others.

ALL theſe were written in the fifteenth age, or in the time betwixt *Fordun* and *Boece*, by the beſt hiſtorians that *Scotland* then afforded, and unqueſtionably well qualified for ſearching into, and finding out what remained of ancient MS. hiſtories any where hidden within the kingdom, eſpecially in abbeys and other monaſteries: they being all either abbots, or the moſt learned churchmen or monks in their reſpective churches or monaſteries, and having the beſt opportunity for writing, by their connexion and correſpondence with the other monaſteries, churches, and learned men in the kingdom.

BESIDES, that the chief of them had in their view not only to continue down *Fordun*'s hiſtory, but to enlarge upon what he had compiled, and to add to his chronicle what they could diſcover that was new concerning the antiquities of *Scotland*. So we ſee abbot *Bower*, or the author of the *Scotichronicon*, or book of *Paſlay* in the king's library at *London*, and in that of *Edinburgh*, and elſewhere, intended, by diſtinguiſhing his own additions by the word *ſcriptor*, from *Fordun*'s text by the word *auctor*. The ſame account of ſeveral additions made to *Fordun* by *Macculloch*, compiler of the chronicle of *Scoon*, we have from (*a*) *David Buchanan*. *Patrick Ruſſel* a *Carthuſian* made alſo new additions, as it is remarked in the end of the MS. *Scotichronicon*, in the poſſeſſion of the earl of *Murray*; and in the MS. chronicle itſelf, in the lawyers library at *Edinburgh*, intitled, *Liber Carthuſianorum de Perth*. It is further to be remarked as to abbot *Bower*, that tho' he was not abbot of *Ycolmkill*, as ſome have called him by miſtake, occaſioned by the equivocal ſignification of the word *inſulæ S. Columbæ*, but of *Inch-Colm* in the *Frith* of *Forth*; yet it is probable he was in a more ſtrict and particular union and correſpondence with the monaſtery of *Ycolmkill*, by reaſon of both theſe monaſteries being under *S.*

(*a*) Biſhop *Nicholſon*'s Sc. Hiſt. Libr. p. 90, edit. 1.

Columba's protection, as their common patron; and by conſequence *Bower* would, without doubt, have a more free acceſs to ſuch ancient monuments as were in *Ycolmkill*, than others.

Now let me ask what can be more improbable (in caſe there had been in thoſe days ſuch valuable monuments of hiſtory in *Ycolmkill*, as *Boece* tells us there were) than that none of all thoſe writers of the fifteenth age, men ſo well qualified and circumſtanced to find out the ancient monuments of the *Scotiſh* hiſtory, ſo diligent ſearchers after them, in order to ſupply the imperfect account that *Fordun* had left of the ſucceſſion of the kings, from *Fergus* I. till *Fergus* II. that being what was moſt wanted in the hiſtory they all commented upon: What can be more improbable, than that none of theſe writers, no not *Bower*, ſo united with *Ycolmkill*, ſhould ever light upon *Veremund*, or any one of theſe pretended hiſtories, which *Boece* ſays were preſerved in that abbey? nor upon any further account of the reigns, ſucceſſion, or even names of the firſt forty kings, than what *Fordun* had ſet down? but all, and every one of them conclude the lame account of the forty or forty-five kings before *Fergus* II. with theſe very words of (*a*) *Fordun*: *A primo quidem hujus regni rege Ferguſio filio Ferchar ad hunc regem filium Erch incluſive quadraginta quinque reges ejuſdem gentis & generis in hac inſula regnave-*

(*a*) Fordun, lib. 3. cap. 2.

runt, ſed & horum ſingillatim diſtinguere tempora principatuum ad præſens omittimus, nam ad plenum ſcripta non reperimus.

THIS is indeed but a negative argument; but withal it ſeems to be of that force againſt *Boece*'s new diſcoveries, that I cannot ſee what rationally can be oppoſed to it: for to ſay that *Fordun* and his continuators, who were ſo zealous to diſcover any help to the *Scotiſh* ancient hiſtory, ſhould ſearch every where elſe in *Scotland*, and not have recourſe to *Ycolmkill*, ſo famous over all the kingdom, as being the moſt ancient monaſtery extant in *Britain*, and according to *Boece*, the depoſitary of our ancient hiſtories, is plainly againſt common ſenſe: and 'tis no leſs incredible that, ſuppoſing they ſearched into that monaſtery, they ſhould not make as great diſcoveries as *Boece*, who was never at the place.

MOREOVER, ſince it is acknowledged by all the *Scotiſh* writers, and we have too ſad proofs of it in the debates of the *Scots* againſt the *Engliſh*, before *P. Boniface* VIII. (as hath been already ſhewn) ſince, I ſay, there's no doubt, but gerally all our ancient hiſtories were deſtroyed or carried off in king *Edward* I's time; how could thoſe in *Ycolmkill* eſcape the common fate, if it was ſo renowned for being the chief depoſitary of our annals and hiſtories? for it ſignifies nothing to ſay, that the monaſtery being ſo remote, it eſcaped the *Engliſhmens* ſearches; for it was not the *Engliſh* by themſelves that ſearched for all our hiſtories, and brought them to *Norham*, A. D. 1291; they were not as yet maſters of *Scotland*; it was the *Scots* themſelves, in a common cauſe, that related to the ſettling the debated ſucceſſion, according to the uſe and cuſtom of *Scotland* in former ages, that produced their ancient hiſtories whereever they could diſcover them, to be inſpected and examined by the choſen arbiters appointed to give their opinion in the cauſe depending betwixt *Baliol* and *Bruce*. So it being a general concern of all the *Scotiſh* nation, whatever annals or hiſtories, whether in *Ycolmkill* or elſewhere, could ſerve to diſcover the former uſe and cuſtom of the ſucceſſion of the kings of *Scotland*, were brought thither; and being once on *Engliſh* ground, they never went home again, but were either deſtroyed or carried off, thoſe of *Ycolmkill* with the reſt.

So that when *John Fordun* ſet about the reſtoring our hiſtory, it does not appear that there was any where remaining, at leaſt in *Scotland*, any entire annals, or continued hiſtory of *Scotland* from the beginning; for the chronicle of *Melroſs* begins properly the *Scotiſh* hiſtory, only at the marriage of *Malcolm Keanmore*, and St. *Margaret*, A. D. 1067. What precedes that is the *Saxon* or *Engliſh* hiſtory, where *Bede* had left off; and the few paſſages concerning the *Scotiſh* kings, interſperſed in that chronicle, are viſibly of a poſterior hand in the original; beſides, there's all the appearance, that in king *Edward* I's time this chronicle of *Melroſs* was carried off to *England* with the reſt. So that the beſt materials that *John Fordun* had to go upon, were the ancient genealogy, with the ſeries of the names of the kings, from *Fergus* the ſecond downwards, with the years of their reigns, extracted from our ancient chronicles inſerted in ſome chartularies or other monaſtery books. Of theſe, and ſuch other collections as *Fordun* found in his ſearches, with his own inferences from them, he compoſed his hiſtory, ſuch as we have it, of our kings, from *Fergus* the ſecond downwards. And for a farther proof that we had no compleat hiſtory remaining when *Fordun* wrote his chronicle; we need only obſerve, that all our moſt famous monaſteries throughout the whole kingdom, ſuch as *Paſly*, *Scoon*, *Couper*, &c. adopted for the ancient hiſtory of the kingdom *Fordun*'s five books, as the only hiſtory of *Scotland*, from the beginning till *David* I's death; and that with the additions to it, and continuations of it, made in the ſeveral monaſteries of the kingdom, is originally what was afterwards called by the name of each monaſtery, *liber Paſlatenſis*, *liber Sconenſis*, *de Cupro*, &c. And what confirms the matter, and is deciſive upon this head, even the monaſtery of *Ycolmkill* itſelf, adopted *Fordun*'s chronicle, which is yet remaining in an ancient hand, by the title of, *The chronicle of* Ycolmkill, being (a) recovered, as I am informed, by the late earl of *Cromarty*, and ſtill in the poſſeſſion of his ſon, or ſome of the family. Now thoſe of *Ycolmkill* would never have adopted *John Fordun*'s lame accounts for the proper chronicle of their monaſtery, had they poſſeſſed ſuch ancient annals as thoſe of *Veremund*, or *John Campbel* are pretended to have been, or at leaſt they would, in tranſcribing *Fordun*, have ſupplied from *Veremund*, &c. what was wanting in *Fordun* of the ſucceſſion, lives and reigns, or at leaſt the names of the firſt forty kings.

§. 4. *Proof the ſecond againſt* Boece's *hiſtory. The moſt part of the names of his forty kings forged upon names of the old genealogy, and a new genealogy drawn up.*

A ſecond proof of *Boece*'s *Veremund*, and other vouchers for his hiſtory of his firſt forty kings, their being a forgery and invention of later times, is taken from the genealogy he gives us of theſe kings. The whole frame of this hiſtory, as delivered by him, depends on the genealogy and names of theſe forty kings; which, if they prove counterfeit and forged, the fabrick built upon them muſt fall to the ground, ſince nothing ought to be more certain than the perſons themſelves of whom the hiſtory treats. Now I conceive it may be evidently ſhewn, that both the names of the moſt

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(a) D. Abercromb. hiſt. Scot. Tom. II.

TABLE I.

OLD GENEALOGY *of the Kings of* SCOTS, *from* Fergus *Son of* Ferchard, *to* Fergus *Son of* Erch.

COL. I. According to the original *Gælick*, or old *Scotiſh*.	COL. II. According to the more ancient and more correct Copies of the twelfth and thirteenth Ages.	COL. III. According to the lateſt and moſt incorrect Copies of the fifteenth and ſixteenth Ages.	COL. IV. NAMES *of* Boece's *Kings, taken from the moſt incorrect Copies of the fifteenth and ſixteenth Ages of Old Genealogy.*
1 Feradach	1 Feredac *al.* Ferchar	1 Ferchar *al.* Ferthar	*Whence,* 1 *Boece*'s Feritharis, 2d King
2 Forco *al.* Forgo	2 Forgo *al.* Fergus	2 Fergus	2 Ferguſius, *B.* 1 K.
3 Maine	3 Maine	3 Main	3 Mainus, *B.* 3 K.
4 Earndil *al.* Arindil	4 Arandill	4 *Deamdill* al. *Dearndill*	4 Dornadilla, *B.* 4 K.
5 Roghein	5 Rouein	5 Rowen	
6 Rothrer	6 Rothir *al.* Rether	6 Rether *al.* Reuther	6 Reuther *and* Reutha, *B.* 6 *and* 7 K.
7 Threr	7 Treir *al.* Ther.	7 There	7 Thereus, *B.* 8 K.
8 Roſin	8 Roſin	8 *Joſin*	8 Joſina, *B.* 9 K.
9 Suin *al.* Sin	9 Sin	9 *Fin*	9 Finanus, *B.* 10 K.
10 Deadha *al.* Deaga	10 Dedaid *al.* Dethach	10 Dethach	
11 Hiair	11 Iair	11 Iair	
12 Oilioll *al.* Olill, & Aililla	12 Elela	12 Elela	
13 Eogan	13 Eoghan *al.* Ewen	13 Ewen	13 Evenus, *B.* 14 K.
14 Eiderſceol	14 Ederskeol	14 Eder Skeol	14 Ederus, *B.* 15 K.
15 Coner-moir	15 Coneremor	15 Conaremor	
16 Cairpri *al.* Corbre finmoir	16 Corbre-finmor	16 Corbre-finmor	16 Corbredus, *B.* 19 K.
17 Dair-dorn-mor	17 Daredornmore	17 Dardremore	17 Dardanus, *B.* 20 K.
18 Cairpri *al.* Corbe-crom-cion	18 Corbrecromcin	18 Corbre	18 Corb. Gald. *B.* 21 K.
19 Luig. *al.* Lugtach-Allatach	19 Lugtach Ellatig	19 Lugtach	19 Lugtachus, *B.* 23 K.
20 Mogolama	20 Mogalama	20 Mogal	20 Mogaldus, *B.* 23 K.
21 Conair	21 Conar	21 Conare	21 Conarius, *B.* 24 K.
22 Eocha Righfhota, *al.* Riada	22 Eochad Riede	22 *Ethod*-riede	22 Ethodius, *B.* 25 K.
23 Fiachrach taithmail	23 Fiachrach Cathmail *al.* Catinel	23 Fachrach	23 Sathrael, *B.* 26 K.
24 Eochach-andoch	24 Eocha Andoth	24 *Ethad* al. *Ethod*	24 Ethod. II. *B.* 28 K.
25 Achirchir	25 Akirkire	25 Akirkire *al.* Athirkir	25 Athirco, *B.* 29 K.
26 Findachai	26 Findach	26 Findoch	26 Findocus, *B.* 31 K.
27 Cruichlinch	27 Cruichlinch	27 Cruithlinth	27 Crathlinthus, *B.* 34 K.
28 Sencormac	28 Sencormac	28 *Fencormach*	28 Fincormacus, *B.* 35 K.
29 Feidlimith-Ramnath	29 Fethelmae-Romach	29 Fethelmac-Romach	29 Romachus, *B.* 36 K.
30 Eanguſa-buidim	30 Anguſa-butim	30 Anguſa	30 Anguſianus, *B.* 37 K.
31 Feidlimith-Aſlingreth	31 Fethelmeth-Aſlingret	31 Fethelmech	31 Fethelmacus, *B.* 38 K.
32 Eanguſa-fear	32 Anguſa-fir	32 Anguſa-Fith	
33 Eocha-muin-remair	33 Ecchach-munremor	33 *Ethadius*	33 Ethodius
34 Erc *al.* Erch	34 Eirc *al.* Erch	34 *Erth*	34 Erthus, *father of* Fergus II.
35 Fergus *mac* Erch	35 Fergus	35 Fergus	35 Fergus II. *B.* 40 K.

Note, *All the Names in theſe Genealogies are in the* MS. *Copies, whence they are taken, joined by the Word* Filius *in* Latin, *or* Mac *in* Gælick, *beginning from the Bottom, and reckoning backwards up to the Top : Thus,* Fergus, *filius* Erc, *filii* Eocha, *f.* Eangus, *&c. In* Gælick, Fergus *mac* Erc, *mhic* Eacha, *mhic* Eangus, *and ſo on.*

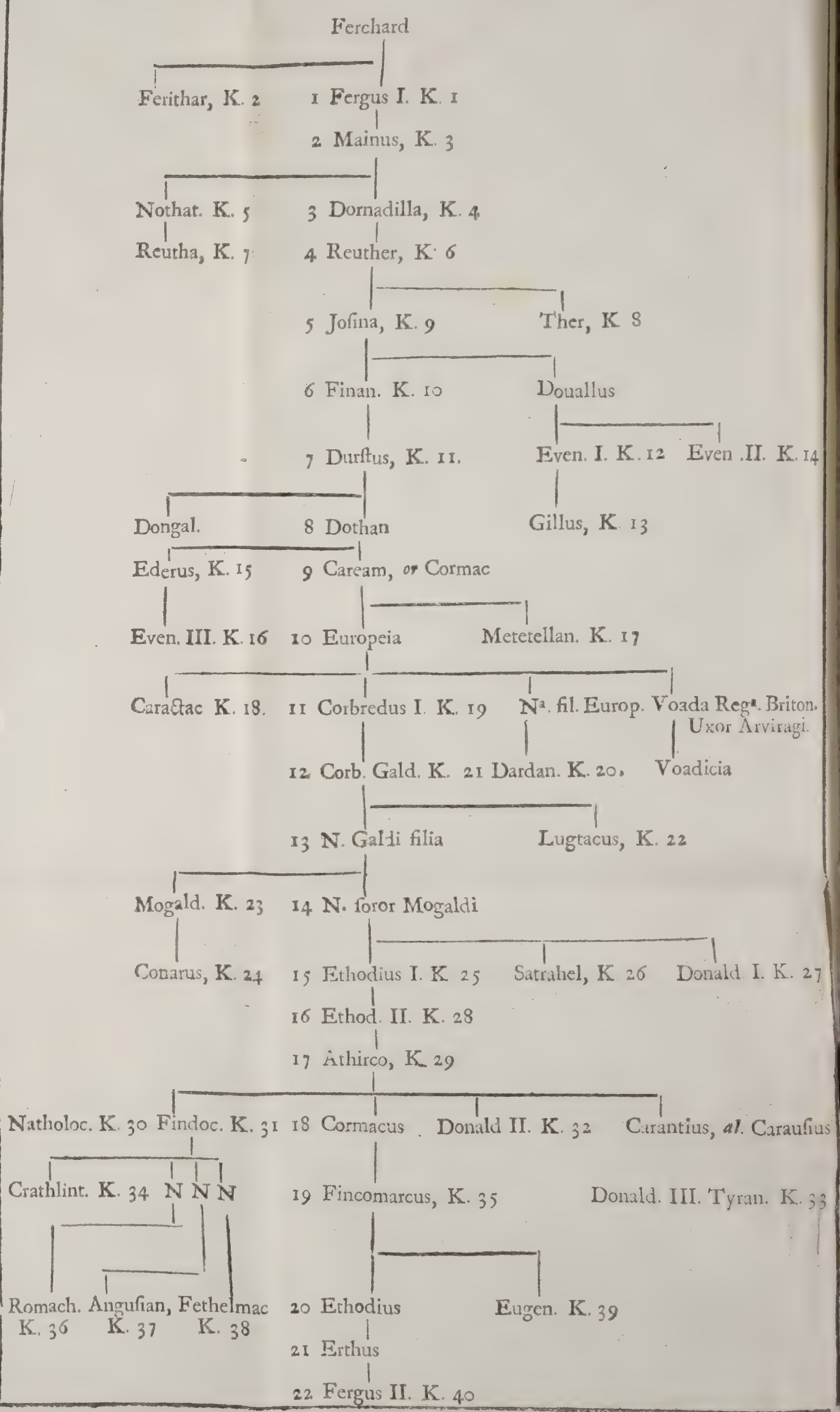
TABLE II.

COL. I. *Series or Catalogue of* Boece's *firſt forty Kings.*

1 Fergus I. *ſon of* Ferchard
2 Feritharis, *ſon of* Ferchard
3 Mainus, *ſon of* Fergus
4 Dornadilla, *ſon of* Main
5 Nothatus, *ſon of* Main *
6 Reuther, *ſon of* Dornadill.
7 Reutha, *couſen of* Reuther
8 Thereus, *ſon of* Reuther *
9 Joſina, *ſon of* Reuther
10 Finan, *ſon of* Joſina
11 Durſt, *ſon of* Finan *
12 Evenus I. *couſin to* Durſt
13 Gillus, *nat. ſon of* Evenus *
14 Evenus II. *brother to* Even. I.
15 Ederus, *nephew of* Durſt
16 Evenus III. *ſon of* Ederus *
17 Metellanus, Ederus's *nephew*
18 Caractacus, Metellan's *nephew*
19 Corbred, Caractacus's *broth.*
20 Dardanus, Corbred's *neph.* *
21 Corbred Galdus *al.* Galgacus, Corbred's *Son*
22 Lugtac. Corbred Gald. *ſon* *
23 Mogaldus, Lugtac's *neph.* *
24 Conarius, Mogald's *ſon*
25 Ethod. I. Mogald's *nephew*
26 Satrahel, Ethod's *brother* *
27 Donald I. Ethod's *brother*
28 Ethod. II. *ſon to* Ethod. I.
29 Athirco, Ethod. II.'s *ſon* *
30 Narhalocus, *uſurper* *
31 Findoc, Athirco's *ſon*
32 Donald II. Athirco's *ſon*
33 Donald III. *uſurper* *
34 Crathlinth, Findoc's *ſon*
35 Fincomarc, Findoc's *nephew*
36 Romach, Crathlinth's *nephew* *
37 Anguſian, Crathlinth's *nephew*
38 Fethelmac, Crathlinth's *nephew*
39 Eugenius, Fincomarc's *ſon*
40 Fergus II. *ſon of* Erth.

Note, *Thoſe Kings marked with a* *, *are* Scotiſh *Kings, either arraigned, or depoſed, or puniſhed, or put to death by their Subjects, according to* Boece *and* Buchanan's *hiſtories.*

COL. II. NEW GENEALOGY *of the Kings of* SCOTS, *from* Fergus I. *Son of* Ferchard, *to* Fergus II. *Son of* Erth; *according to* H. BOECE, G. BUCHANAN, *and their Followers.*


Ferchard
Ferithar, K. 2
1 Fergus I. K. 1
2 Mainus, K. 3
Nothat. K. 5
3 Dornadilla, K. 4
Reutha, K. 7
4 Reuther, K. 6
5 Joſina, K. 9
Ther, K 8
6 Finan. K. 10
Douallus
7 Durſtus, K. 11.
Even. I. K. 12
Even .II. K. 14
Dongal.
8 Dothan
Gillus, K 13
Ederus, K. 15
9 Caream, or Cormac
Even. III. K. 16
10 Europeia
Metetellan. K. 17
Caractac K. 18.
11 Corbredus I. K. 19
Na. fil. Europ.
Voada Rega. Briton. Uxor Arviragi.
12 Corb. Gald. K.
21 Dardan. K. 20.
Voadicia
13 N. Galdi filia
Lugtacus, K. 22
Mogald. K. 23
14 N. ſoror Mogaldi
Conarus, K. 24
15 Ethodius I. K 25
Satrahel, K 26
Donald I. K. 27
16 Ethod. II. K. 28
17 Athirco, K 29
Natholoc. K. 30
Findoc. K. 31
18 Cormacus
Donald II. K. 32
Carantius, al. Carauſius
Crathlint. K. 34
N
N
N
19 Fincomarcus, K. 35
Donald. III. Tyran. K. 33
Romach. K. 36
Anguſian, K. 37
Fethelmac K. 38
20 Ethodius
Eugen. K. 39
21 Erthus
22 Fergus II. K. 40

part of *Boece*'s kings, and the deſcent or genealogy which he gives of them, in as far as it differs from the old genealogy contained in *Fordun*, are a modern invention about *Boece*'s own time.

In order to put this matter in a full view, the reader will find here two tables; the firſt divided into four columns, whereof the firſt three contain three different copies of the old genealogy of the predeceſſors of our kings, from *Fergus* ſon of *Ferchard*, called *Fergus* I. to *Fergus* ſon of *Erch*, or of *Fergus* II. according as they are ſet down in three different periods of time by writers of different ages (*a*). All which nevertheleſs, making a due allowance for the miſtakes of tranſcribers, are every where the ſame: and as they all agree in the main, ſo they all entirely differ from the new genealogy given by *Boece*, *Buchanan*, and their followers. Of theſe four columns in the firſt table, the firſt contains the names of the old genealogy, as they are written in the original *Gælick* or old *Scotiſh*: the ſecond contains the ſame names, according to the more ancient and more correct copies done by *Lowlanders*, from the twelfth till the fourteenth or fifteenth age. The third column contains the ſame names, ſuch as they are found in the lateſt and moſt incorrect copies of the fifteenth and ſixteenth ages. In fine, in the fourth column are ſet down the names of thoſe of *Boece*'s forty kings, that are taken from the old genealo-

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(*a*) V. the genealogical tables.

gy, and formed upon the moſt incorrect, and by conſequence the lateſt copies of it contained in the third column.

The ſecond table is divided into two columns; in the firſt is ſet down the ſeries or catalogue of *Boece*'s firſt forty kings, with the new parentage he has aſſigned to them. The ſecond column contains the ſcheme of the new genealogy framed, by *Boece*, or his vouchers, for his forty kings, from *Fergus* I. till *Fergus* II.

The reader having the tables in his view, will be more able to judge of the reflections I am to make upon them.

The firſt thing to be obſerved concerning theſe genealogies is, that the old genealogy, ſuch as it is contained in the three firſt columns of the firſt table, and given by *Fordun* (*a*) in two different places of his chronicle, was the only known genealogy of the *Scotiſh* kings, till the year 1526, that *Boece*'s hiſtory, with a new genealogy, never heard of before, was publiſhed; and this genealogy given by *Fordun* is atteſted by the authority of the writers of all ages and countries who ſet down that of the kings of *Scots*.

In the twelfth age, the author of the genealogy, in the MS. intituled, *Chronica Regum Scotorum*,

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(*a*) Fordun. edit. Hearn, lib. 5. c. 50. p. 487, 759.

rum, ſet down in the appendix, n°. 4. who was a *Scotiſh* writer; and *Radulfus de Diceto* dean of *London*, an *Engliſh* writer, relate, both of them, this genealogy juſt as it is ſet down by *Fordun*; and that they both wrote in the twelfth age, appears by their carrying up the genealogy from our king *William*, as being the king then reigning; and thoſe are the oldeſt copies to be now met with, of the genealogy of the *Scotiſh* kings; excepting the accounts we have of it from the *Iriſh* writers, who pretend to have it of a much higher antiquity, and their accounts of that genealogy are the ſame in the main, as *Fordun*'s, and differ only in four or five names.

In the thirtenth age, the *Highland Seanachy*, or *Antiquary* mentioned by all *Fordun*'s continuators, and by *Major*, pronounced this genealogy in the ſame ſeries of names, from *Fergus* ſon of *Erch*, to *Fergus* ſon of *Ferchar*, and upwards, at the coronation of king *Alexander* III. *A.D.* 1249. and this being on ſo ſolemn an occaſion, in preſence of the three eſtates of the kingdom, aſſembled for the coronation, carries with it the ſenſe of the whole kingdom, eſpecially that of all the *Highland Seanachies*, ſo well verſed in, and ſo tenacious of the ancient genealogies; and this whilſt our ancient records, or hiſtories, were as yet entire, and before they were deſtroyed by king *Edward* I.

In the fourteenth age, *Walter Wardlaw*, one of the moſt eminent perſons for learning in his time, having been bred in the univerſity of *Paris*, of which he was rector *A. D.* 1345. and afterwards doctor in divinity; and on his return home, choſen biſhop of *Glaſgo*, and at laſt created cardinal, by pope *Clement* VII. under whoſe obedience *Scotland* was. This great man, whom *Fordun* (*a*) conſulted, gave him the ſame genealogy, in the ſame terms: and *Fordun* himſelf, after all his travels and ſearches, inſerts this in his chronicle, as being the authentick genealogy of our kings, and conformable to what he had met with every where elſe.

In the fifteenth age, all the writers of the *Scotiſh* hiſtory, abbots, church-men, and religious men of the chief churches and monaſteries, continuators of *Fordun*, give us the ſame genealogy after him. In the very beginning of that age, *Winton*, canon regular and prior of *Lochlevin*, gives us the ſame genealogy in his chronicle, in verſe, which he muſt have had from the records of St. *Andrew*'s, or other chronicles; for it is evident he never ſaw *Fordun*. In the ſame age alſo, *A D.* 1460. *William* (*b*) *Fratours* canon of *Aberdeen*, and prebendary of *Philorth*, gives us exactly the ſame genealogy which he took, as he affirms, from ſeveral chronicles.

(*a*) Fordun, l. 5. c. 50.

(*b*) Bibliot. Cotton.

In fine, in the beginning of the ſixteenth age, *A. D.* 1521. four years before *Boece* made his new diſcoveries of *Veremund*, &c. *John Major* publiſhed his hiſtory, and gave us from the *Highland* gentleman, juſt the ſame genealogy as the reſt, excepting the faults of tranſcribers, or printing, which are without number, in that ſhort hiſtory, being printed at *Paris*, whilſt the author was abſent in *Scotland*.

Thus we ſee, beſides the *Engliſh* account of that genealogy the ſame as ours, and the *Iriſh*, which differs only in four or five names; the *Scotiſh* writers in all ages, in all parts of the kingdom, ſouth, north and *Highlands*, the writers of the clergy, and thoſe of monaſteries, all agree, without exception, allowing for the faults of tranſcribers, on the ſame names and ſeries of the genealogy, from *Fergus*, the ſon of *Ferchar*, called *Fergus* I. down to *Fergus* II. ſon of *Erch*. Nor will it be found, upon inquiry, that the genealogy given of our kings by *Boece*, from *Veremund*, &c. or indeed any other than what I have ſet down from *Fordun*, in the firſt table, was ever mentioned, or heard of, before the publiſhing *Boece*'s hiſtory, *A. D.* 1526.

This might ſuffice to ſhew, that the genealogy publiſhed by *Boece*, and by conſequence all that is built upon it, is nothing but an invention of his own time. But to bring that up to a full conviction, we are to conſider farther the differences there are betwixt the genealogy given by *Boece*, and the only known genealogy to his time. Theſe differences conſiſt chiefly in two things: 1°, the abridging the number of the deſcent or degrees; and 2°, what is a neceſſary conſequence of that; the difference of the order or ſeries of the deſcents or parentage, by placing ſome, that according to the ancient genealogy deſcended in the direct line, into the collateral line, that they might not be quite loſt; as will appear by inſpection of the three firſt columns of the firſt table, containing the old genealogy, as it is found in different ages, compared with the genealogy given by *Boece*, in the ſecond table, col. 2.

IT is to be obſerved, that the alterations made by *Boece*, or his vouchers, were not the effect of their being ignorant of the old genealogy, for it was all the bottom they had to go upon: and we are beſides well aſſured, that *Boece* himſelf had that genealogy twice repeated in the MS. of *Fordun* already mentioned, which belonged to *Boece*, and was given by him to the library of the college of *Aberdeen*. But it appears that they deſignedly altered the genealogy, for reaſons of their own; whereof one ſeems to have been to render, as they imagined, their hiſtory of the forty kings more plauſible. The ancient genealogy makes thirty three generations from *Fergus* ſon of *Ferchar*, till *Fergus* ſon of *Erch*. *Boece*, or his vouchers,

ers, have reduced them to twenty one, or twenty two. The deſign and intention of this abridging the genealogy ſeems to have been, that they wiſely conſidered, that from *Fergus* I. till *Fergus* II. there were, according to *Fordun*'s account, thirty three generations, during the ſpace only of about 730 years, to wit, from the year 330. before the incarnation, till *A. D.* 403. after it; and that in much about the ſame number of years from *Fergus* II. beginning *A. D.* 403. till king *David* I's. reign, *A. D.* 1124. there were only about twenty one generations; and therefore they thought it much more plauſible to reduce the number of the generations of the firſt race, to that of twenty, or twenty one generations, as in the ſecond, it not being very likely, that in the ſame number of years there ſhould be ten generations more in the firſt race, when men were ſuppoſed rather to live longer, than in the ſecond.

FORDUN, and theſe other writers that followed him, did not make all theſe reflections, but ſet down with ſimplicity what they had received by tradition, or found in writing: that *Fergus* I. ſon of *Ferchard*, came to *Britain* 330 years before the incarnation, and was the firſt king of the *Scots*; that from this *Fergus* there was a ſucceſſion of kings down till *Fergus* II. ſon of *Erch*, but no account of their lives and reigns, nor even of their names; but finding the ſeries of the genealogy and number of the generations betwixt theſe two *Fer-*

R *gus's*,

gus's, and that univerſally received, without examining whether there were not too many generations for that period of time, they honeſtly ſet them all down as they found them in former writers. Had *Fordun* placed the beginning of *Fergus*, ſon of *Erch*'s reign only in the year 503, inſtead of 403, all would have been right, and the number of generations of the firſt race would have agreed much better with that of poſterior ages; thirty one generations from *Fergus* I. till *Fergus* II. in the ſpace of 830, and 31 generations from the beginning of *Fergus* II. *A. D.* 503. till king *Robert* II. firſt of the name of *Stuart*, during about the ſame number of years. Had *Fordun*, fixed upon that epoch of the reign of *Fergus* II. all had been right. But that is what *Fordun* did not reflect upon; and *Boece*, or his vouchers, who ſaw there was ſome miſtake in the number of generations, made things much worſe, by abridging the old and univerſally received genealogy, and forging partly out of it, and partly out of their own imagination, a new one never heard of before.

In conſequence of *Boece*'s abridging the number of generations in the genealogy, many of the names muſt be different, and their relation one to another inverted. Many, in the direct line, according to the old genealogy, being thrown into the collateral line in the new; the fathers and ſons can be no more the ſame: and ſo it is, for in the twenty one generations to which *Boece* reduces the thirty three of the old genealogy, only four or five are left as they were; all the reſt are changed, but nothing is loſt: for the names cut off from the direct line ſerve to make up kings in the collateral; ſome that were ſons and fathers before, are come to be brothers, or couſins, but all of them kings, good or bad, and accordingly praiſed or puniſhed, as it was thought uſeful by thoſe that created them, towards encouraging or curbing their ſucceſſors in later times, and the compaſſing the other ends that the firſt inventors of theſe new diſcoveries propoſed to themſelves.

THUS only the three firſt names of the old genealogy (*Fergus*, *Maine* and *Aryndill*, changed to *Dornadilla*) are preſerved by *Boece*, and all made kings. But *Rouein*, grandſon to *Aryndill*, is left out, and *Bede*'s *Reuda*, or *Reutha*, whom *Fordun* had made the ſame with *Rether*, is ſubſtituted for *Rouein*, and made the ſeventh king by *Boece*, and made brother to *Rether*. *Roſin* altered to *Joſina*, of grandchild to *Rether*, is made his ſon, and hath *Ther*, or *Thereus*, for his brother, who was his father, and both are made kings. *Sin* changed to *Fin*, or *Finnan*, is *Boece*'s tenth king, and inſtead of *Dethach*, *Durſtus* is aſſigned to be his ſon. The reſt of the new genealogy is ſo intirely different from the old, that of *Boece*'s twenty eight kings following, there are ſcarce four to whom there is not given a new parentage, and they are made either brothers or couſins to thoſe that were their fathers, according to the old genealogy; and many of them are entirely of new creation, or tranſplanted from other countries, and grafted in this new genealogy, as may be ſeen by comparing the old and new genealogy together (*a*).

FOR as the names contained in the old genealogy, being only thirty two betwixt the two *Fergus*'s, could not ſuffice to form *Boece*'s thirty eight kings, (beſides that there are four or five of the names left out apparently on purpoſe to make room for others) there are added ten or twelve new names of kings, and all grafted in the new genealogy; ſuch are *Feritharis*, *Metellanus*, the three *Donalds*, *Nothatus*, *Durſtus*, *Gillus*, *Evenus* III. *Natholocus*, *Romachus*, *Caractacus*, *Galdus*, beſides *Carauſius*, miſcalled *Carantius*, and the famous *Voadicia*. And there ſeems a viſible deſign in the choice of them all, ſuitable to the general ſcope which *Boece*, or the authors of his memoirs, ſeem to have levelled at in that hiſtory. Each of them being appointed to act the perſonages either, 1°. of eminent models of virtuous princes to be imitated; ſuch are the characters attributed to *Feritharis*, *Metellanus* and *Donald* the firſt chriſtian king, never heard of before *Boece*; or, 2°. To act the perſonages of vicious and tyrannical kings, and accordingly puniſhed by their ſubjects, to keep their poſterity in awe; ſuch are *Nothatus*, *Durſtus*, *Gillus*, *Evenus* III. *Natholo-*

(*a*) V. the tables of genealogy.

cus, *Donaldus* III. *Romachus*, &c. The third kind of new kings or princes grafted on the genealogy, are the chief famous *Britiſh* warriors againſt the *Romans*, deſigned to ſet out the honour of the kingdom, and render the hiſtory more taking and agreeable to the natives; ſuch are *Caractacus*, king of the *Silures*; *Galgacus*, the famous *Caledonian* general, called by *Boece Galdus*, or *Corbredus Galdus*, and the warlike *Carauſius*, miſcalled *Carantius*, is alſo grafted on the new genealogy, as are likewiſe *Voada* and *Voadicia*.

§. 5. *A third proof againſt* Boece's *hiſtory, is, the forty kings names forged upon corrupted names of the old genealogy, in or near* Boece's *own time.*

A third proof is drawn from the difference or variety that appears betwixt theſe names, as they are ſet down in the moſt ancient and correct copies of the old genealogy, and the ſame names as they are deformed and corrupted in *Boece*'s hiſtory: and here we have a new and evident proof, not only of the forgery of this new genealogy, and ſo of all the hiſtory built upon it; but theſe varieties point out to us the time in which theſe vouchers of *Boece* were coined, to wit, in the end of the fifteenth, or beginning of the ſixteenth age.

To ſet this in a clear light, let it be obſerved, that the old names contained in our kings genealogy, are originally *Gælick*, or *Iriſh*; that being the ancient language of the *Scots*, by conſequence theſe names would be better preſerved when tranſcribed by thoſe that underſtood that language, than by *Lowlanders*, who being wholly ignorant of it, would more readily miſtake and corrupt theſe names in tranſcribing them; and moſt of the copies we have of that genealogy, being written by *Lowlanders*, the later the copies are, the more incorrect they muſt be in courſe, each new tranſcriber adding his own miſtakes to the faults of his copy: ſo generally ſpeaking, the more incorrect we find any of theſe copies of the genealogy, the more we are aſſured they were tranſcribed in later times. So if theſe names be no where more corrupted and incorrect than in the copies on which *Boece*'s kings and new genealogy have been framed, it will be a plain proof that the memoirs, or vouchers he followed, were of a very late date.

BUT to come more cloſe to the preciſe date of the vouchers of *Boece*'s hiſtory; there needs only for that but to compare the M S S. copies of the royal genealogy, written in the latter end of the fifteenth, and beginning of the ſixteenth age, with the true *Gælick* or *Iriſh* names, and with the moſt ancient and beſt copies done in former ages, and both theſe copies with the names that *Boece* makes uſe of in his hiſtory, as taken from his *Veremund*, *Campbel*, and his other new annals of *Scotland*; and it will viſibly appear, that the compilers of thoſe pretended annals lived not in the eleventh age, where *Veremund* is placed, nor in the twelfth or thirteenth, ſuppoſed to be the age of *John Campbel*; and that they were not *Highlanders*, as is pretended, that the ſame *Campbel* and *Cornelius Hybernicus* were; but that they were the contrivance or workmanſhip of ſome *Lowlander*, and done upon copies of the genealogy written only in the fifteenth or ſixteenth age, ſuch as they were a little before *Boece*'s own time.

AN evident proof of this is, that there hath been in the copies of the genealogy, on which *Boece* or his vouchers have compoſed their catalogue of kings, the very ſame (*a*) corruptions and falſe readings which we find in the copies of the fifteenth and ſixteenth ages, and which are not commonly in the copies of the genealogy written in former ages, whereof the moſt ancient are generally the more correct and conformable to the genius of the *Highland* tongue. For example, in all the ancient copies of that genealogy, preceding the fifteenth age, we read, *Arindyll*, *Sin*, *Roſin*, *Echach* or *Ecchad*, *Achircir*, *Cruichlinch*, *Sencormac*, *Erch*: whereas in the corrupted copies of the end of the fifteenth, and beginning of the ſixteenth age, and in theſe only, inſtead of *Arindyll* we find *Dearndill*, upon which was forged *Boece*'s fourth king *Dornadilla*; inſtead of *Sin* we read *Fin*, whence *Boece*'s tenth king *Finanus*; inſtead of *Roſin* we find *Joſin*, whence *Boece*'s ninth king

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(*a*) See column the third of the firſt table.

Joſina; in place of *Echac* we find *Ethod* or *Ethad*, whence *Boece*'s twenty-fifth and twenty-eight kings, *Ethodius* I. and II. And a general mark that the tranſcribers of theſe genealogies lived in the fifteenth or ſixteenth age is, that they, for the moſt part, read *th* for *ch*, as *Athircir* for *Achirchir*, whence *Boece*'s twenty-ninth king *Athirco*; and inſtead of *Cruichlinch* they read *Cruithlinth*, whence *Boece*'s thirty-fourth king *Crathlinthus*; *Fencormac* inſtead of *Sencormac*, whence *Boece*'s thirty-fifth king *Fincormacus*; inſtead of *Erch* they read *Erth*, whence *Boece*'s *Erthus*, father to *Fergus* II. To all theſe falſe readings of the lateſt tranſcribers of theſe genealogies, *Boece* or his helpers have added new ones of their own, which are not to be met with in any former copy of the genealogy, new or old, that I have ſeen; but may have been in the lateſt and moſt corrupted copies. Thus inſtead of *Fiachrach*, they have probably read *Siathrael*, the *F* being changed into *S*, the *ch* into *th* in the middle of the word, and into *el* in the end of it: all which were ordinary miſtakes in the fifteenth age, and only in it: and from this corruption of the name *Fiachrach* become *Siathrael*, came *Boece*'s twenty-ſixth king *Sathrael*. By all which it ſeems evident, that the memoirs furniſhed to *Boece*, whatever name they bore, were late pieces forged upon corrupted copies of the old genealogy, not long before *Boece*'s own time; and after they had been hidden ſome years, have been found out in *Boece*'s time, and ſent to him as copies of ancient hiſtories of *Scotland*, probably betwixt the years 1522 and 1525: for in the (*a*) year 1522, (as I have already obſerved) *Boece* ſeems to have known nothing of the annals or other MSS. of *Ycolmkill*; but in the year 1525, he tells us he had his *Veremundus*, *J. Campbel*, &c. ſent him from thence.

§. 6. *Fourth proof:* Boece's *hiſtory ſtuffed with fables.*

A fourth proof of the forgery of *Veremund*, and of *Boece*'s other vouchers, may be taken from the facts that he relates on the credit of his new vouchers; eſpecially when theſe details which he gives, are compared with the lame accounts we have of what paſſed in the northern parts of *Britain*, from the earlieſt and beſt hiſtorians, during thoſe ages in which the forty kings are placed.

1°. NOT to inſiſt here upon the difficulties of the early ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*, (of which afterwards) the account that *Boece* gives of the extent of their dominions in their beginning, is plainly contrary to the certain accounts that we have of the extent of the *Pictiſh* dominions in the ſixth age of chriſtianity, from *Adamnanus* an eye-

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(*a*) Boeth. vit. epiſcop. Aberdon, fol. 30, 31.

witneſs; for it is evident, that the *Picts* in the ſixth age poſſeſſed as yet, as they had done from the beginning, all the moſt northern parts of *Scotland*, which *Boece* makes his *Fergus* I. beſtow liberally on the *Scots* his followers 800 years before.

2°. *BOECE*'s viſible contradictions to the *Roman* writers in what paſſed in their own time; ſuch as his accounts of *Camelodunum*, the *Silures*, the *Brigantes*, *Caractacus*, *Voada*, *Carauſius*, &c. the *Roman* wars or treatiſes with the *Scots* in the times of his kings *Ederus*, *Metelianus*, *Mogaldus*, *Ethodius* I. *Donald* I. &c. All which wars of the *Scots* with the *Romans*, *Buchanan* found ſo viſibly fictitious, that he either contradicted them, or paſſed them over in ſilence, tho' *Boece* quotes his *Veremund*, or other vouchers, for them all.

3°. THE fabulous ſtories in his hiſtory, copied from the *Roman* or other hiſtories; ſuch as the *Scotiſh* women married to the *Picts* interceding between their husbands and parents, like the *Sabinæ* in *Titus Livius*; king *Mainus* like *Numa* eſtabliſhing the ſacred rites; the tables of the laws made by *Fergus* I. *Dornadilla*, and others; and all politick deliberations and fine harangues he puts in his *Scotiſh* grandees mouths, from the ſame *Titus Livius*, and others. Beſides theſe, his fables of new invention, as the meſſage of *Ptolomy* tranſformed from a geographer into a king of *Egypt*;

that of the two philoſophers from *Spain* with the knowledge of the true God many years before the incarnation; his making the *Cambrians* a diſtinct nation from the *Britains*; the ſtory of *Fergus* II.'s expedition with *Allarick* to the deſtruction of *Rome*, and his bringing from thence a cheſt of books; and ſo many other ſuch like ſtories, all built on the authority of his *Veremund*, and other vouchers; but all rejected alſo, or paſſed over in ſilence by *Buchanan.*

4°. IN fine, the detail he gives of the lives, deaths, councils, wars, reigns, and all with their dates, of his forty kings, at as great length, as if they had lived only a few years ages before himſelf, and with as great aſſurance as if he had the authority of the beſt hiſtorians to go upon, is a new proof of a fertile invention: beſides that, even *Veremundus*'s work, tho' it were extant, or could have been ſhewn to be written in the eleventh age, could not be a ſufficient authority to warrant a detail of tranſactions, many of which were paſt twelve or thirteen ages before.

§. 7. *Fifth proof: new principles of government.*

IN fine, a fifth proof of the impoſture of *Veremund*, and of the other pretended ancient writers, on whoſe authority *Boece* built all that he relates of the firſt forty kings, over and above what *J. Fordun*'s chronicle contains, is the new maxims of ſtate directly levelled againſt monarchical government, together with all the precedents and examples which he relates of the *Scotiſh* kings having been made accountable to their own ſubjects, and obnoxious to be puniſhed by them for their male-adminiſtration. All which principles of government, and precedents of popular power, prove not only the impoſture of *Boece*'s vouchers, but do alſo make it manifeſt, that far from being the writings of authors of the eleventh or twelfth ages, where his *Veremund*, *Campbel*, &c. are placed, they are late inventions, compoſed no ſooner than the fifteenth age, after the death of king *James* III. that is, a little before *Boece*'s own time.

To make this evident, it might ſuffice to ſhew, that there is not ſo much as one clear inſtance of any ſuch power or right exerciſed or claimed by the *Scots*, whether nobility or people, aſſembled or ſeparated, over their kings, to be met with in any ancient hiſtory or record, from the beginning of the monarchy till the reign of king *James* III. rebels there had been in former ages among the *Scots*, as in other nations, and private traytors that have even attempted on the lives of their princes; but theſe, far from being countenanced by the ſubjects, had been on the contrary treated as they deſerved by the far greateſt part of the nation. There have alſo been factions and inſurrections of diſcontented parties in *Scotland*, as in other kingdoms; but theſe have generally been either

ther quelled by the king's own prudence and authority, or ſuppreſſed by the concurrence of their loyal ſubjects: at leaſt there never had been heard of among the *Scots* any ſuch thing as an act of the ſtates to juſtify rebellious proceedings againſt the ſovereign, till the act *Of the propoſition of the debate of the field of Striveling*, made in the firſt parliament of king *James* IV. *A. D.* 1488, compoſed chiefly of the actors of the tragedy.

THAT what I have here to ſay, in order to prove that the vouchers of *Boece*'s hiſtory were poſterior to the death of king *James* III. and to the act intitled, *Of the debate of the field of Striveling*, made *A. D.* 1488, may not be miſunderſtood; I muſt here declare, that in treating of this ſubject, my intention is to keep exactly within the bounds of an hiſtorian or critick, and to examine a pure matter of fact, neceſſary towards diſcovering the preciſe age or time of the contrivance of the writings under the titles of *Veremundus*, *John Campbel*, &c. made uſe of by *Boece* as vouchers of his hiſtory.

I have already ſhewn, in the preceding §§'s, by the errors of the copies of the old genealogy, employed by the contrivers of theſe vouchers of *Boece*, that they could be no older than the fifteenth age: and here I intend to add a new proof of their being of that date, taken from the new maxims of government advanced by *Boece* on the credit of theſe writings, and particularly from the power attributed by them in ancient times to the nobles and people of *Scotland*, to ſet up a tribunal for their kings, to call them to account for their adminiſtration, and to puniſh them for male-adminiſtration with impriſonment, depoſition, and even with death; and not content barely to advance theſe maxims, as being principles or rules of the *Scotiſh* government, they have ſet down examples of their having been effectually put in practice againſt no leſs than about a third part of their forty kings, and upon ſeveral others of their ſucceſſors.

So all that I intend here, is to ſet down ſummarily on this head what is neceſſary to lay open the foundation on which *Boece*'s hiſtory of the firſt forty kings ſeems to be built, and what appears to have been the occaſion of its writing; and in order to that to ſhew in the firſt place, that all that *Boece*'s vouchers delivered of our kings being accountable to any under God for their adminiſtration, is contrary to the ancient laws, hiſtory, and cuſtom of *Scotland*, before the fifteenth age; and by conſequence grounded only upon inventions, in or about that time. 2°. To trace out the different ſteps and occaſions by which the ancient notion of the right of the ſovereignty of our kings came to be firſt obſcured and diminiſhed, and then the right itſelf directly invaded by a faction of the nobility in the fifteenth age; whence followed by degrees new maxims concerning the power of the nobility or people over their kings, in caſes of pretended male-adminiſtration, and a new ſcheme of our ancient hiſtory adapted, to juſtify and impoſe thoſe new maxims on poſterity.

§. 8. *Principles of* Scotiſh *government, according to the old laws of* Scotland.

AND firſt, as to our ancient laws: by all of them preceding the fifteenth age, our kings held their crown only, and immediately of God, and were accountable to him alone for their adminiſtration: none can be judged, or called to account, but by their ſuperiors or peers. Our kings, by our ancient laws, had neither ſuperiors nor equals on earth [(*a*) Rex Scotiæ] *nullum habet ſuperiorem niſi ipſum Creatorem cœli & terræ, qui cuncta gubernat.* And again (*b*) *Dominus rex* [Scotiæ] *nullum poteſt habere parem, multo minus ſuperiorem.* In all publick acts, ancient and modern, our king is ſtiled thus: (*c*) *Our Sovereign Lord the King.*

THE ancient kings of *Scotland* were by law and cuſtom originally the ſole fountain of all property, honours, or dignities, and of all temporal juriſdiction. As to property, our kings, till *Malcolm* II. were ſole proprietors of all the lands of *Scotland*. *Malcolm* was the firſt that was pleaſed to give them out, and divide them among his ſubjects. It is by this acknowledgment that our moſt

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(*a*) Regiam majeſtat. præf. n. 3.

(*b*) Ibid. lib. 2. c. 44. n. 3.

(*c*) Supremus Dominus noſter Rex.

ancient laws begin, *Dominus rex* (*a*) Malcolmus *dedit & diſtribuit totam terram* Scotiæ *hominibus ſuis.* (*b*) And all the lands of *Scotland* are to this day holden mediately or immediately of the king: and though they are become many ages ago hereditary by the king's gift, no heir can enter but by the king's authority and writ, and on condition to hold them of him, and to be faithful to him as ſovereign.

THE king is alſo the ſole fountain of all titles of honour. It was his will and free choice that originally made a diſtinction between a nobleman and a commoner: and all noblemen of whatſoever degree are, as to their titles, honours, and privileges, the King's *Creatures*, as the tenor of all their patents bears (*Creamus*, &c.) and even in the vulgar language, their acceſſion to their title, honour, or dignity, is expreſſed by their being *created* lord, earl, duke, *&c.* by ſuch or ſuch of our kings. Accordingly our firſt earls are thought to be of *Malcolm* IIId's *creation*; our firſt dukes are of that of *Robert* III. our firſt marquiſſes and viſcounts of the *creation* of *James* VI.

THE king is the ſole fountain of all temporal juriſdiction and legiſlative power: all laws are both enacted and executed in his name, and by his authority. Till the fifteenth age our ancient laws

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(*a*) Leges Malcolmi Mackeneth, c. 1. n. 1.
(*b*) Fordun, lib. 4. c. 43.

ran in this ſtile: *Rex ſtatuit*, or *rex ſtatuit cum conſilio, aut deliberatione, & aſſenſu prælatorum, comitum*, &c. All tribunals, from the higheſt to the loweſt, ſit and act by his authority; all courts are fenced in his name. The higheſt tribunal, that of the three eſtates or parliament, is the king's great council: the ſeveral members of it are originally the king's counſellors, not his aſſeſſors; they have place and vote by authority, derived originally from him alone. The lords or barons, ſpiritual or temporal, by his creation; the commiſſioners of ſhires, by the lands that they hold of his gift, are eligible to repreſent the ſhires: the royal burghs are all of the king's erection, and from his authority they derive their privilege to have deputies in parliament: he alone made at firſt the diſtinction betwixt the royal burgh and the village. He alone hath power of the ſword immediately from God, as his miniſter: and therefore by our laws, all riſing in arms, all convocation of the lieges, without the king's order and his authority, was treaſon. Thus far as to our Laws.

§. 9. *Right of the* Scotiſh *monarchy, according to old hiſtories.*

As to our hiſtories, the only general hiſtories we have now extant before king *James* the IIId's reign, are *John Fordun*'s and *Winton*'s chronicles, and the ſeveral writers of our monaſteries, who for the moſt part barely copied *John Fordun*'s chronicle, or commented on it as far as he went, and continued it, and are known by the name of the ſeveral *Scotichronicons.* As to the chronicle of *Melroſs*, tho' more ancient than any of theſe, it begins only where *Bede* left off, in the eighth age; and till *Malcolm Keanmore*, it contains little of the *Scotiſh* affairs.

Now in the firſt place, none of all theſe hiſtorians (and they are the only ones the *Scots* have, till after king *James* the IIId's death) have ſo much as one of the many inſtances or examples, related by *Boece* from his vouchers, of the *Scotiſh* nobility calling their kings to account, or claiming any power to judge them, whether before or after the reign of *Fergus* II. As to the inſtances brought from *Boece*'s hiſtory of the firſt forty kings preceding *Fergus* II, what we have already ſaid in this article, and have as yet to add of that performance of *Boece*, is, I hope, ſufficient to prove that all the particulars that *Boece* relates of the lives and actions of theſe forty kings, (over and above what is contained in *Fordun*) and by conſequence, all the inſtances of the ſubjects exerciſing a power over their kings, are a plain forgery: ſo there's need of no farther anſwer.

And as to the inſtances *Boece* gives of this power being exerciſed over our kings by their ſubjects, in the perſons of ſix or ſeven of them, poſterior to the reign of king *Fergus* II. to wit, *Con-*

ſtantine I. *Ferquard* I, and II. *Eugen.* VIII. *Donald Mac-Alpin* V. *Ethus* and *Culen.* As to theſe, I ſay, *Fordun*, the only ancient *Scotiſh* hiſtorian, who with his continuators contain any account of theſe kings reigns, hath not one word either of their bad adminiſtration, or of their ſubjects exercifing any power over them; but on the contrary, gives a quite different account of ſuch of them, of whom he had found any particulars recorded.

THUS as to *Conſtantine* I. Whereas *Boece* relates, that he was killed by one of his nobles for his wickedneſs: (*a*) *Fordun*, on the contrary, ſays not a word of his being a wicked prince, but that he died a natural death, after a long ſickneſs.

AS to *Donald* V. or *Donald Mac-Alpin*, who, ſays *Boece*, was a cowardly, vicious prince, and therefore degraded by his nobles, and thrown into priſon, where he laid hands on himſelf. (*b*) *Fordun*, on the contrary, ſays he was a brave ſoldier, a warlike and victorious king, and after a happy reign died a natural death: and the (*c*) chronicle of *Paſly* and others add, that he was lamen-

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(*a*) Fordun, lib. 3. c. 17, 18.

(*b*) Erat enim [*Donaldus*] miles inclytus & ad omnes actus bellicos fortis & pronus. *Fordun, lib.* 4. *c.* 15.

(*c*) Apud Sconam rex Donaldus univerſæ carnis viam ingreſſus in Iona ſepultus eſt Inſula pro quo tanquam pro rege Kenedo a Scotis planctus extitit. *Scotichron. Paſlat. MS. in bibl. regia Londin.* lib. 4. cap. 15. Idem *in Scotichron. colleg. Edinb. in Scotichron.* de Panmure, &c.

ted by the *Scots* at his death, no leſs than *Keneth* the great, his brother, had been.

As to king *Ethus*, who according to *Boece* was degraded by his nobles, and died in priſon. (*a*) *Fordun* hath not a word of it, but ſays that *Ethus* was killed in battle by his competitor king *Gregory:* and long before *Fordun*, the ſame account is given of king *Ethus*'s death by other writers.

As to the kings *Ferquard* I. and II. and *Eugen.* VIII. who according to *Boece*'s vouchers were puniſhed by their nobles for their bad adminiſtration. *Fordun* hath not one word of that, nor was any thing ever heard of it till after king *James* III. it was firſt mentioned by *Boece.*

As to king *Culen*, (*b*) *Fordun*, and other ancient writers, own indeed he was a debauch'd prince; but none of them, before *Boece*, ſpeaks of any combination of the nobles againſt him; but that he was killed by a private nobleman in revenge, for having raviſh'd his daughter. And even (*c*) *Buchanan* owns, that the nobles, and other ſubjects, took highly ill that attempt on his perſon, though they hated his vices.

And theſe are all the examples or inſtances of our kings, ſince *Fergus* II. pretended, on *Boece*'s

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(*a*) Fordun, lib. 4. c. 16.
(*b*) Fordun, lib. 4. c. 28.
(*c*) Buchan. in Culen. *r.* 75. *fol.* 55.

ſole authority, or that of his vouchers, to have been called to account, or puniſhed by their nobles: of all which there's not the leaſt mention made by any hiſtorian, that wrote before the rebellion againſt king *James* III. and the act made *A. D.* 1488. to juſtify this rebellion: the firſt account we have of any of thoſe tragedies is from *Boece*, after that king's death, and the paſſing that act.

IN the ſecond place, not only there is no word in our ancient hiſtorians, of the *Scots* claiming any power over their kings, but on the contrary, theſe hiſtorians formally atteſt the king's ſovereignty, as the foundation of the monarchy, and indeed of all government among the *Scots*. Thus *Fordun*, when he relates the origine of government among the *Scots*, (*a*) tells us, that the *Scots*, at their firſt coming into *Britain*, were a rude,

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(*a*) Præterea dum Picti Scotos advenas hujuſmodi damnis affligerent & anguſtiis, nunciatum eſt clanculo gentis ſuæ majoribus, quali quantaque per eos degebant ærumpna.—— Hæc igitur ut audivit nobilis quidam & immodicæ probitatis juvenis *Fergus* filius *Ferhad*, ſive *Ferchardi*, ex antiquorum proſapia regum progenitus, quod ſcilicet *Acephala* gens ſuæ nationis abſque rectore per *Albionis* vaſtas vagando ſolitudines, a *Pictis* ejecta degebat, cordis ob iram candeſcere cœpit. His igitur exhortationibus & ambitione regnandi ſtimulatus magnam ſibi juvenum copiam accumulans, ad *Albionem* continuo progreſſus eſt, ubi ſegregatos e medio *Pictorum Scotos* accolas, una cum his quos ſecum attulerat, in occidentalibus Inſulæ locando finibus, *ibidem ſuper eos Regem primum ſe conſtituit. Fordun edit. Hearne, lib.* 1. *cap.* 34. *pag.* 57.

unpoliſhed multitude, without any head or form of government, expoſed to the oppreſſion of the *Picts*; which *Fergus*, the ſon of *Ferchar* or *Feradac*, a brave prince, of the royal deſcent of the *Scots* in *Ireland*, hearing of, and compaſſionating the condition of the *Scots* in *Britain*, came over to them with a great number of young men; and gathering together the *Scots* that had hitherto lived ſcattered among the *Picts*, and uniting them into one people with thoſe he brought with him, he *made himſelf the firſt king over them*, (*a*) and thus founded the *Scots* monarchy in *Britain*, (*b*) *giving laws, and making ſtatutes* for the government of his new kingdom.

And this, as we have already obſerved, is the moſt ancient account we have from our oldeſt hiſtorian extant, of the original of the *Scotiſh* monarchy: and indeed, if we trace back all other certain hiſtories, ſacred or prophane, we ſhall find monarchy was the firſt government of the world, and the firſt kings the work of divine providence, not of the people: the very diſtinction of nobles and commons was an effect of the wiſdom

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(*a*) Super eos regem primum ſe conſtituit, *Ford*. l. 1. c. 34.

(*b*) Ad hanc inſulam Albionis memoratus adveniens Fergufius, Scotorum primus rex in ea creatus eſt *quibus* & *ipſe datis legibus* & *ſtatutis*, ab occidentali quidem oceano regnum, & ab inſulis uſque dorſum Albaniæ dilatans, limites ibidem inter regna conſtituit: nam orientalis oceani regnum Picti coluerunt. *Fordun*, l. 2. c. 11. p. 85.

of the prince, to aſſure and maintain the government and obſervation of the laws, by ſettling order and ſubordination among the ſubjects, and ranking them according to their merits and abilities. And this account that *Fordun* left of the origine of the *Scotiſh* monarchy, was adopted and copied by all the authors of the ſeveral *Scotichronicons* in the fifteenth age, as being the only notion the *Scots* had of it till that time.

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WINTON, our ſecond general hiſtorian, tho' he had never ſeen *Fordun*, and wrote in the end of *Robert* III. or during the captivity of king *James* I. in the beginning of the fifteenth age, gives us much the ſame account of the right of monarchy among the *Scots*, as *Fordun* does, and delivers it *as a firm concluſion*, that our kings are independent, and hold their crown and royal authority immediately of God, and are anſwerable to him alone for their adminiſtration: when, after having related how king *Kenneth Macalpin* came to the *Pictiſh* crown, by the overthrow of that ancient people, he goes on in theſe words;

The Scotis foundit on yair (*a*) richt
Bot ony help of outwart micht
Yai recoverit Swa yair heretage
Evir to leſt (*b*) with yair Lynage:

(*a*) That of the Picts.
(*b*) Leif MS.

And our Kyng til hald his ſtate
Of God himſelf immediate:
Swa for his Ward and his relief
Trete he with God for (*a*) his Cheyf,
And nane uthir mannis perſoune
Hald this a firm concluſioune (*b*).

This in modern Engliſh *proſe, is as follows:*

THE kings of *Scotland* claimed and entred into the poſſeſſion of the *Pictiſh* crown, under the right, and by the title of the *Picts*, without the aſſiſtance of any foreign force. Thus they recovered their inheritance, to remain for ever with their race, and to be holden by them immediately, and only of God himſelf: ſo that our king, for his holding and dependance, hath none to treat with but God as his only ſuperior, and with no other perſon whatſoever. Hold this as a firm concluſion.

THUS *Winton:* and by theſe two writers, *Fordun* and *Winton*, the moſt ancient, and indeed the only general hiſtorians the *Scots* have extant, before the tragedy of king *James* III. and who wrote independently one of another, as is plain by their works, as well as by all our ancient laws above-mentioned, we ſee what notion the *Scots* had of the right of monarchy, and on what footing it was among them, in the beginning of the fifteenth age.

(*a*) For he is, al. MS.

(*b*) Winton's chronicle, MS. biblioth. reg. *Lond.* f. 93. & bibl. jurid. Edinb. in the prologue of the ſixth book.

UNTIL that time the peace and tranquility of the kingdom, the rights of our kings, and of the ſubjects, were maintained and preſerved, on the part of the ſubjects by the ſingular reſpect and attachment that the *Scots* had for the ancient royal line of their kings, by their juſt adminiſtration, and by the grateful memory of ſo many of their royal predeceſſors, that had ſacrificed themſelves for preſerving or recovering their liberty and independency; and on the king's part, by a tender regard that our ancient kings had for their ſubjects, which was chiefly grounded upon their uniform and hearty concurrence to ſupport the crown, and their readineſs to march, whenever called upon, and that on their own expences, under the royal banner, either to ſuppreſs all inteſtine commotions, or repulſe all foreign invaſions: of all which our true hiſtories furniſh abundance of examples in every age: ſo the bond, or knot, that united our ancient kings and people, till the long minorities that chiefly gave riſe to the factions of the fifteenth age, was no other than a mutual confidence which they had one in another, they both being equally perſuaded, that the intereſts of each were dear to the other: and this confidence made their happineſs and mutual ſecurity, without any further ties than the uſual oath of allegiance that the ſubjects took to their kings, and that of our ancient kings at their coronation, which in thoſe times was very ſimple; but in its auguſt ſimplicity included all that was neceſſary for the ſubjects ſecurity and happineſs.

THIS is the account that our ancient hiſtorians give of it. At the coronation of each king, before he is bleſſed, or anointed, he takes an oath, containing three promiſes, in this form.

(a) *IN the name of Chriſt, I promiſe theſe three things to the chriſtian people my ſubjects.* 1°. *That I ſhall give order, and employ my force and aſſiſtance, that the church of God, and the chriſtian people, may enjoy true peace during our time, under our government.* 2°. *I ſhall prohibit and hinder all perſons, of whatever degree, from violence and injuſtice.* 3°. *In all judgments I ſhall follow the preſcriptions of juſtice and mercy, to the end that our clement and merciful God may ſhew mercy to me, and to you.*

AND this is all the account we have of the engagements that our ancient kings made to their ſubjects, and the only guarantee, or ſurety of the performance, was the king's own conſcience, and the hopes he had of the mercy of God. Thus our kings of the race of *Malcolm Keanmore*, and St. *Margaret*, lived with their people in the times we begin to have the ſureſt and fulleſt accounts of our hiſtory; and whilſt in our neighbourhood the contentions betwixt the kings and ſubjects were often carried to the greateſt extremities, and new ſecurities exacted of their kings by the name of *Magna Charta*; whereas in *Scotland*, as we read of no complaints made by the body of the ſubjects, in thoſe ages, againſt their kings, for oppreſſing their juſt rights and liberties, ſo there was no occaſion of ſeeking redreſs, and much leſs of exacting from our kings publick charters to ſecure them: accordingly, the name of *Magna Charta* was never heard of in *Scotland*, nor do we find, in all our ancient records, or hiſtory, that any thing like to it was ever exacted of any of our kings in ancient times. As to our kings taking the coronation oath before the ceremony of their unction, which ſome of the adverſaries of the ſovereignty of our ancient kings, have made a handle of, thoſe writers, it ſeems, did not know or reflect, that the ceremony of unction of our kings, was not in uſe in *Scotland* till the time of *Robert* I. who obtained an expreſs bull from pope *John* XXII. for that end; and accordingly his ſon, king *David* II. was anointed after the manner of other chriſtian kings, and the ceremony performed according to the rites of the *Roman* pontifical, which being adapted to the unction of kings of all kinds, as well elective as hereditary, 'tis no wonder that the coronation oath is placed in the order of the rite before the *actual unction*; but nothing can be alledged from that ceremony in favour of the notion of a mutual ſtipulation between our ancient kings and people, as if the failing on one ſide, did free the other: for what a famous writer (whoſe authority on this head is beyond all exception, and out of reach of ſuſpicion) ſays, of the kings of *Scotland* in his time, is at leaſt no leſs certain, in regard of all our ancient kings (*a*) *That the king hath his authority, how ſoon the breath of his father goes out; and acts with full regal power before he be crowned; ſo the coronation is only a ſolemn inauguration in that which is already his right.* And in effect, what this learned writer aſſerts in this place, is conformable to the *Scotiſh* hiſtory and records, by which it appears, that our kings (even after the introduction of the ceremony of the unction, made uſe of for the firſt time (*b*) at the coronation of king *David* II. *A. D.* 1329.) in their charters, and other publick acts, dated the years of their reign, from the death of their immediate predeceſſor, without regard to the time of their

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(a) IN chriſti nomine promitto hac tria populo chriſtiano mihi ſubdito. Imprimis me præcepturum & opere pro viribus impenſurum ut eccleſia Dei & populus Chiſtianus veram pacem in noſtro arbitrio, noſtro tempore ſervet. 2°. ut rapacitates & omnes iniquitates omnibus gradibus interdicam. 3°. in omnibus judiciis æquitatem & miſericordiam extollam ut mihi & vobis indulgeat miſericordiam ſuam clemens & miſericors Deus. *Scotichron, Paſlet. in Bibl. reg. Lond.* & *Scotichron de Panmure*, lib. 4. c. 6.

(*a*) *Vindication of the authority of the conſtitution,* &c. *by* Gilbert Burnet, *Profeſſor of Theology in* Glaſgow, A. D. 1673. confer. 1. p. 153.

(*b*) Ante quem [*Davidem* R. II.] nullus regum Scotiæ legitur fuiſſe inunctum (*ſic*) vel cum tali ſolemnitate coronatum (*ſic*) *Fordun, edit. Hearne, pag.* 1018.

own coronation. We have a famous example of this in the reign of king *James* I. of *Scotland*, who, though he had been taken at Sea, and carried priſoner into *England*, being then a child of fourteen years of age, before the death of his father king *Robert* III. *A. D.* 1406, and was detained there about eighteen years, till *A. D.* 1424. that he came home to *Scotland* and was crowned; yet in all his charters, as well as in his parliaments, the years of his reign are dated from the death of the king his father, *A. D.* 1406.

And even as to the coronation oath, ſuch as I have ſet it down from the continuators of *Fordun* in the fifteenth age, it may be doubted whether it was in uſe before the introduction of the ceremony of the anointing, performed according to the rites of the *Roman* pontifical, where this coronation oath makes a part of the ceremonial, and is ſet down in equivalent terms with that which I have inſerted above: for I have hitherto met with no account of it in what I have ſeen of our hiſtories and records before that time; though the ceremony of the coronation of our kings, particularly that of king *Alexander* III. is recorded at large, with many minute circumſtances in the continuation of (*a*) *Fordun*. And as to the *Scotichronicon*'s inſerting the form of the oath, which I have ſet down above in his relation of the reign of the

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(*a*) Fordun, edit. Hearne, pag. 757, 758, 759, 760.

ſame king *Alexander* III. as the author treats there of the duties of kings in general only; what he ſays of the coronation oath, may have relation only to the practice of his own time in the fifteenth century, when he wrote: but I refer this point of criticiſm to the judgment of thoſe who may have more opportunity than I could have, to peruſe and examine the large continuators of *Fordun*, and the records of *Scotland*. Mean-time, whether our ancient kings, before king *David* II. took or took not the forementioned oath at their coronation, is a pure matter of fact or curioſity; for beſides that, their obligations to preſerve all their ſubjects, of both the ſpiritual and temporal eſtates, in their juſt rights and privileges, were not the leſs binding before God, to whom alone they were anſwerable for their adminiſtration: the mutual confidence, as I have already obſerved, betwixt our ancient kings and their people, the paternal affection theſe kings had for them, and the intereſt they had to maintain peace and union in the kingdom for their own, as well as for their ſubjects ſecurity and happineſs, were in thoſe days no leſs powerful guarantees of our kings diſcharging the obligations and engagements annexed by Almighty God to their eminent ſtation, as his Vicegerents, than all the ties, oaths, and acts that have been added in the latter ages, as any perſon, that will examine the true hiſtory of *Scotland*, may be eaſily convinced of.

I have inſiſted on this digreſſion, without any other deſign than to vindicate our country in general, and in particular our ancient nobility, from the accuſation of barbarity, and want of due reſpect to their kings in ancient times, which our modern hiſtorians ſince the fifteenth century have, by their truſting to forged vouchers, (to ſay nothing here of ſome of their principles and particular views) given ſtrangers occaſion to load them with: whereas in reality it is quite the reverſe, and will appear ſo to all that will impartially examine the remains that we have of true hiſtory, till the confuſions of the kingdom, occaſioned particularly by the many long minorities in that fiftenteh age; there being, perhaps, no where to be met with in any kingdom whatſoever, a more intire union betwixt king and people, a more conſtant adhæſion of ſubjects to the royal line, nor greater reſpect payed to the ſovereign by all, and particularly by the nobility, than in *Scotland* in ancient times, as it will appear to any that will take information from our only remaining hiſtorians before the fifteenth age, *Fordun* with his continuators, and *Winton.* and from our records.

By all this, as well as by what we have related of our ancient laws and hiſtories, till the beginning of the fifteenth age, it is manifeſt that all the principles, and more yet, the exerciſe of the depoſing power, in regard of the ancient kings of *Scotland*; in a word, the whole frame of *Boece*'s hiſtory, or rather of the vouchers that he copied after, is new, unpreſidented in all former reigns, before that of king *James* III. unknown to the *Scots* in preceding ages, and hatched on purpoſe to ſerve the turn of the ring-leaders of the rebellion againſt that prince, and to fortify the act which they made to ſcreen themſelves, from the puniſhment due by all our ancient laws to their crime.

WE are now to enquire into the different ſteps, by which the new notion of a power in the nobles or people, to limit or reſtrain that of the crown, was firſt introduced among the *Scots* in the fifteenth age, and which grew up by degrees afterwards to that height, as to produce all thoſe dreadful convulſions that our poſterior hiſtories relate.

THE feeble reign of king *Robert* III. followed by the long captivity of king *James* I. gave the cauſe of great confuſions in the kingdom. In theſe days, ſays a (*a*) writer of that time, there was no law obſerved in *Scotland*: the great and powerful oppreſſed the weak, crimes remained unpuniſhed,

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(*a*) *A. D.* 1402. In diebus illis non erat lex in *Scotia*: ſed quilibet potentiorum juniorem oppreſſit & totum regnum fuit unum Latrocinium: homicidia, deprædationes incendia & cætera maleficia remanſerunt impunita, & juſtitia relegata extra regni terminos exulavit. *Chartular. vet. Moravien. fol.* 62.

and juſtice ſeemed to be baniſhed out of the kingdom. In effect, it was chiefly then that ſome of the great men firſt began to act within their own lordſhips, as if they had had an independent authority, and as little kings; their power and great attendance ſcreening them from the purſuit of juſtice, they aſſembled men in arms, and made war one againſt another.

IN this caſe king *James* I. found the kingdom at his return from *England*, A. D. 1424: and being a prince of reſolution, and a ſevere juſticiary, he endeavoured, by all means, to retrieve the rights of the crown, re-eſtabliſh order and publick ſafety by his good laws, and his ſteadineſs and inexorable ſeverity in the execution of them, and in puniſhing the tranſgreſſors, without reſpect of perſons, of whatſoever quality, as we may ſee by his ordering, the very next year after his return home, duke *Murdoch* the late governor, to be arreſted and impriſoned, with his ſons, and the earls of *Lenox*, *March*, *Douglas* and *Angus*, and many others, all the moſt powerful men in the kingdom; and yet more in the execution of the ſame duke *Murdoch* and his ſons, of the earl of *Lenox*, and of ſeveral others; and in the forfeiture of the moſt ancient and moſt powerful earl of *March*. And nothing can more effectually ſhew, how deeply the reſpect for the royal authority was as yet rooted in the hearts of the *Scots*, than this daring ſtep of a king, who was newly returned from a captivity of eighteen years, and almoſt a ſtranger to his people, and who was lately entered upon the government.

THESE ſevere executions lay indeed very heavy on the minds of ſome of the great men accuſtomed to live, during ſome years, independent, and gave them a jealouſy of the regal power, whereof moſt of them, by the long diſuſe of it, in the king's abſence for ſo many years, had never as yet felt the weight, nor known the extent of its authority: but the king having, by theſe ſeverities, re-eſtabliſhed the publick tranquillity, and delivered his ſubjects from oppreſſion, and all the executions being according to law, and upon a fair trial of their peers, he was applauded by the far greateſt part of the nation, and gained ſo univerſally the hearts of his people, that the malecontents among the nobles were forced to ſtifle their reſentments during the reſt of the king's reign; but they broke out with greater violence during thoſe of his ſon and grandſon. Several other things happening during this reign, which augmented ſtill more their fears and jealouſies of the royal authority, and ſome that contributed to their exerting their reſentments.

AMONG others, the (*a*) reaſſuming the crown-lands, whereof many of the great men had got

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(*a*) *Jac.* I. parl. I. c. 9.

themſelves poſſeſſed by the profuſeneſs of the late governors, became a new occaſion of diſcontent. The (*a*) forfeiture of the earl of *March*, however well intended to remove ſo powerful a man from the neighbourhood of *England*, proved of bad conſequence in the following reigns. The earl of *March* was a rival to, and check upon the earl of *Douglas*; and this balance being taken off, the great power of the earl of *Douglas*, and of his family and followers, proved an unſupportable burden to the crown, and encouraged them to endeavour what had never been attempted before, that is, (according to the phraſe of the times) to *bell the cat*, or, to make head againſt the king, and defye the government; eſpecially being ſure, in caſe of the worſt, of a ſafe refuge and ſupport from *England*.

ANOTHER occaſion of the growth of the power of the nobles, to balance that of the crown, was the combining of ſeveral gentlemen one with another in *bonds of mutual defence*, called *bonds of Manred*, againſt any that ſhould attack them. We have a famous example of this, during the reign of king *James* II. in the bond or league of the earls of *Douglas* and *Crawfurd*: and tho' this coſt the firſt his life, and chiefly contributed to ruin that powerful family; and tho' it had been prohibited by ſevere acts of parliament (*b*) in king

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(*a*) *Jac.* I. parl. XII. c. 135.

(*b*) Parl. II. K. *Jam.* I. c. 30.

James I.'s time, it continued in the following reigns, and became the ſource of the greateſt convulſions of the kingdom.

BUT nothing contributed more to diminiſh the reſpect and awe of the majeſty of our kings, and to enervate the regal authority, and ſo to lay the foundation of theſe convulſions of the government, than the long minorities, eſpecially of the kings *James* II. and III. During thoſe intervals, tho' the laws were enacted, and the royal authority exerciſed in the name of the king, yet the whole exerciſe of it was, by neceſſity, committed by the eſtates of the kingdom to ſome of the great men; who often envying one another, to fortify each his party by the king's perſon, tho' a child, ſtole him, as it were by turns, one from another, which did not a little contribute to diminiſh the reſpect due to his perſon, which till then, had always been eſteemed by the *Scots* as ſacred, of whatever age he was.

BESIDES that, the exerciſe of the regal authority being in theſe minorities but precarious, in whoſeſoever's hands it was lodged, and their adminiſtration depending on the ſtates and nobility, thoſe that exerciſed it durſt not oftentimes venture to exert it, for fear of diſobliging or incurring the oppoſition of others able to diſpoſſeſs them. Whence it happened, that ſome of the more powerful among the nobility lived in a kind of independency of the government and laws, without yielding any obedience, or even paying any reſpect to them; and being accuſtomed to this licentious way of living during the minorities, endeavoured to keep themſelves in poſſeſſion of it by force, even when the king came at age.

SUCH in particular were the earls of *Douglas*, who being powerful by their own followers, and yet more by their combining with other great men, arrived at that height of preſumption, as to march with diſplayed banners at the head of a great army, compoſed of their rebellious adherents, againſt the king. In thoſe turbulent times, the kings were often obliged to manage, with great caution, the reſt of their nobility, to keep them firm in their duty; and for the ſame reaſon, to uſe condeſcenſions to their parliaments, and allow them a larger ſhare in the adminiſtration than was uſual in the reigns of their anceſtors. Some new and unuſual expreſſions, which we meet with in the ſtyle of ſome of the parliaments of theſe times, have been abuſed by a late (*a*) writer, as if theſe expreſſions were to be looked upon as the ſtandard of the *Scotiſh* conſtitution; not conſidering, that beſides that moſt of theſe acts were made during minorities, and none of them but may be underſtood in a ſenſe not derogatory to the right of monarchy, allowance being made to

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(*a*) Hiſtorical account of the rights of *Scots* parliament, A. D. 1703.

the circumſtances of thoſe times, and the diviſions and tumultuous ſtate of affairs, occaſioned by the fears and jealouſies, induſtriouſly ſpread betwixt the kings and their ſubjects by ſeditious and deſigning men. All which paſſages have been thoroughly diſcuſſed by the late learned hiſtorian Dr. *Pat. Abercromby*, whoſe hiſtory, I mean chiefly the ſecond volume of it, being generally better ſupported than any other by records and authentick documents, is the beſt written piece of our hiſtory that I know of.

IT was chiefly under the reign of king *James* III. that all theſe different ſeeds of fears and jealouſies betwixt that king and a diſcontented party of his nobles, increaſed to the greateſt height, and produced the moſt diſmal effects, by the protection that *England* gave to the factious party, and by the diviſions induſtriouſly ſown by men of that party in the royal family; and by their infuſing firſt into the duke of *Albany*, the king's brother, the poyſon of their rebellion, and the baſe and ambitious deſign of uſurping his brother's crown, (*a*) and holding it of the king of *England*: and afterwards, the ſame factious men ſeducing the kings own ſon the prince to head their party, they brought to the fields an army compoſed of the accomplices of their rebellion, and of their followers, againſt their ſovereign, who,

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(*a*) *Abercromby*'s life of king *James* II. p. 443, 444, &c.

attended only by a part of his army, having precipitated unwarily a battle, before the reſt of his loyal ſubjects, who were on their march from the north to his aid, were arrived, was defeated by the rebels, and barbarouſly murthered in the purſuit.

AFTER which, that ſame factious party (*a*) obſerving that their young king began to repent of the crime in which they had engaged him; and that for penance, and as a ſign of his repentance, he wore an iron chain; and fearing his reſentment, to ſecure their lives and fortunes from the puniſhment due by all the ancient laws of the land, they obliged that young unexperienced prince, who was ſtill in their hands, to call an aſſembly in a parliamentary form; and there being a great majority (the loyal party inferiour in number, and ſeeing their prince, now their king, at the head of that aſſembly, not able, or not daring to oppoſe) made that unprecedented act, *A. D.* 1488. intitled, *The propoſition of the debate of the field of Striveling*, to acquit themſelves, and juſtify their rebellion: and as they knew how odious their crime was to all, both without and within the kingdom; without it, to all princes and ſtates in amity with *Scotland*; ſuch as the pope, who had excommunicated all that had a hand in it, to *France*, *Spain*, *Denmark*, and other realms: they therefore enacted, that the king's ſeal, and thoſe of the three eſtates, ſhould

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(*a*) Pitſcotty hiſtory, *pag.* 96.

be apended to this act, in order to be ſhewn, as ſhould ſeem expedient for the time, to all theſe different princes. So the act bears, and is ſet down by doctor (*a*) *Abercromby*, from the black acts in the life of king *James* III. to whom I ſhall refer my reader for all that concerns this tragedy; and ſhall only take notice, that this act, far from juſtifying the party with the reſt of the world, abroad or at home, it did not ſo much as juſtify them in their own conſciences; and far from thinking themſelves *innocent*, *free*, *and quit* of the ſlaughter of king *James* III. &c. as they pretend in this act, they were ſo conſcious to themſelves of their guilt, that they had recourſe to pope *Innocent* VIII. to obtain abſolution of their crime, and from the cenſures of the church, which they had incurred by their rebellion; proteſting, *That they were ſorry, from the bottom of their hearts, for their rebellion, and deſirous to do penance for it.* Upon which the pope empowered the abbots of *Paſly* and *Jedward*, and the chancellor of *Glaſgow*, to give them abſolution, as is more at length contained in the original bull in the advocates library at *Edinburgh*, dated 27 *Jan.* 1491. Within the kingdom, the horror of that crime was yet greater, and more univerſal and laſting; for notwithſtanding the aforeſaid act made to palliate it, the heavy murmurs and complaints of the people continued above three years afterwards, eſpecially upon account that no enquiry had been made after the authors

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(*a*) Abercromb. tom. II. *p.* 476, 477, &c.

of the ſlaughter of the king. For this reaſon the third parliament of king *James* IV. aſſembled at *Edinburgh* the 20th of *February* $14\frac{91}{92}$, made at laſt an act, which begins thus: *Alſwa, be the command and advertiſement of our ſoveraign lord the king,* (*a*) *it is aviſit and ordainit be the lordis of the articlis,* (theſe are the proper words of the act) *for the eſchewing and ceſſing of the hevy murmur and voice of the people of the dede* (*b*) *and ſlaughter of* (*c*) *umquhile, our ſoveraign Lordis father and progenitor, quhom God aſſolzie* (*d*) *king James* III. *That the perſone or perſonis that* put violent handis *in his perſon and ſlew him, are nocht puniſht; the quhilk perſonis to be knawin and puniſht after their demerits, our ſoveraign Lord is maiſt deſirous; and for the knowledge thairof, quhat perſone or perſonis were committaris of the ſaid odious and cruel deid* with their hands; *it is now ſtatute and ordainit in this preſent parliament, that,* &c. The act goes on, and promiſes a reward to thoſe that ſhall make known thoſe that were the murtherers of the late king *with their hands*; which affected expreſſion is repeated no leſs than five different times in this act; whereas the ordinary tenor of ſuch acts uſes to include all that were *airt* and *pairt*, that is, *aiders* and *abettors* of any murther; or (as it is expreſſed in queen *Mary*'s proclamation, 12 *February*, 1567. for the diſcovery of the murtherers of king *Henry* her husband) *the perſonis, deviſoris,*

(*a*) Records of the parliament of king *James* IV. *fol.* 155.
(*b*) Death.—— (*c*) The late.—— (*d*) Abſolve.

counſalors, or actual committars of the ſaid miſchievous and treaſonable murthour. But there being among thoſe that ſat in this parliament, *A. D.* 1492, and that deviſed this Act, many of thoſe that had been actually in arms in purſuit of their ſoveraign king *James* III. when he was killed, they were careful in wording of it, ſo as that it might not reach themſelves, and therefore took care it ſhould be expreſſed in this unuſual tenor, and comprehend only thoſe that had put *violent hands in the king's perſon*, or murthered him *with their own hands.*

BUT ſuch an unnatural rebellion againſt one of the beſt (*a*) princes of his time, needed more than acts made by the authors of the wickedneſs, met together in a pack'd aſſembly in the form of a parliament, under a young prince, whom they had made, inaſmuch as in them lay, a parricide, and who was ſtill detained in the hands of thoſe that had murthered his father; there needed more, I ſay, than an act paſſed in ſuch an aſſembly, to juſtify to the world and to poſterity, ſuch an inhuman and unpreſidented attempt. There remained yet for them to ſhew, that this act was conformable to the conſtitution of the kingdom, at leaſt to produce ſome inſtance or precedent of coactive power, exerciſed by the nobles or ſtates againſt any king of *Scotland* before king *James* III. for if they could have found any ſuch

(*a*) See his life by Dr. *Abercromby*, in the ſecond volume of the *Scotiſh* hiſtory.

inſtance in the hiſtory of the *Scots*, they had infallibly alledged it in their act, to juſtify their attempt in the eye of all chriſtendom, with the pope, and other princes, aad ſtates abroad, and with their fellow-ſubjects at home: and as in the very firſt occaſion after the rebellion againſt king *James* III. and this act made to juſtify it; and after the publiſhing *Bocce*'s hiſtory, with all the tragical examples of depoſing power, which he relates on the credit of his forged vouchers, as in the very firſt occaſion, I ſay, after all this, that the *Scots* took arms againſt their ſovereign queen *Mary*, they failed not to alledge to the ambaſſadors of queen *Elizabeth*, and of other foreign princes, for the juſtification of their action, the practice of their predeceſſors againſt her majeſty's anceſtors, and many precedents of former times, meaning thoſe contained in *Boece*'s vouchers, and the late one of king *James* III. So alſo that party of the *Scotiſh* nobility, who had taken arms againſt king *James* III. and were maſters of the young king's perſon, and of the parliament they had obliged him to convocate, in order to acquit themſelves, and to proſecute thoſe that had kept their allegiance to the late king, had not failed to have alledged ſome ſuch precedent in former times, had there been any ſuch: and their not doing it at a juncture in which they were ſo hard put to it to juſtify their proceedings in their famous act, is a plain proof that no ſuch precedent was to be found in thoſe days, and by conſequence, that none of thoſe precedents, ſet down by *Boece* on the faith of his *Veremund*, and other pretended vouchers, or any other of the like nature, had ever been as yet heard of: and this fact confirms beyond reply the truth of the third argument, which I brought againſt *Boece*'s hiſtory of the forty kings; and that his vouchers were not forged till after the death of king *James* III, and after this act, *Of the propoſition of the debate of the field of Striveling*, ſince it proves, that all the principles and precedents of the depoſing power, contained in theſe vouchers, were all new, and poſterior to that time.

Now the lives and fortunes of that part of the nobility who had purſued to death the late king, depending on the ſtability of this their act; and this act being in itſelf very precarious, and liable to be reverſed, if a change at court ſhould fall out, and that the young king ſhould happen to put himſelf into the hands at thoſe that had given proof of their loyalty and attachment to the crown, by their firm adhæſion to the late king his father; and that he came to open daily more his eyes upon the guilt of the parricide, in which the authors of this act had engaged him, and ſo might, for reparation, execute upon them the laws againſt rebellion, as he had begun to puniſh himſelf for it. Affairs being in this ſtate, and all the ſecurity of the adverſe party to the late king depending on the ſtability of their new act, and nothing being more neceſſary to fortify, propagate, and diminiſh the horror that poſterity might conceive of their attempt, than precedents of ſuch like attempts in former ages; and none ſuch being extant at that time in all the *Scotiſh* hiſtories, it was of the laſt importance to the party, and very natural for ſome of their adherents to invent hiſtories fit for the purpoſe; to give them names, and an air of antiquity, and carefully hide them till a proper ſeaſon in ſome corner, ſo as they might eaſily be found out in due time, by thoſe, who, being themſelves ignorant of the artifice, as well as uncapable of judging of ancient pieces, they were ſure would not fail to proclaim their new diſcoveries every where, as curious and valuable pieces of antient hiſtory of the *Scots*, which had eſcaped the deſtruction made of them by king *Edward* I. of *England*, and ſo it happened.

THESE are indeed but conjectures: but when all that hath been already ſaid at length of the nature and contents of *Veremund* and theſe other pretended ancient pieces of the *Scotiſh* hiſtory, the circumſtances of time, and the want, in which the authors of the enterprize againſt king *James* III. were of precedents. When all this is impartially conſider'd, and that within a few years after this unprecedented act, at leaſt as ſoon as a proper ſeaſon; ſuch as the confuſions of a new minority was found, and a fit tool; that is, the moſt eloquent, and perhaps the moſt credulous of the *Scotiſh* writers, to ſay nothing of his principles concerning government: When, I ſay, one meets with a whole new ſeries of hiſtory, detailed into particulars never heard of before, wholly built upon new principles of government, inconſiſtent with all the former hiſtories, and laws of the *Scotiſh* nation, exemplified in a great number of facts and inſtances of a power exerciſed by the *Scotiſh* nobles over their kings in ancient times: and this hiſtory hurried out in unuſual haſte, and producing nothing for its vouchers in the moſt incredible narrations, but authors wholly unknown till then, appearing on a ſudden from dark and remote corners, and ſuddenly diſappearing again, and theſe abſolutely inconſiſtent with all other ancient hiſtories, foreign and domeſtick; but eſpecially when one finds, that the firſt appearance of theſe pretended vouchers happened preciſely at, or about the times in which the factious party ſtood ſo much in need of precedents from ancient times of kings called to account by their ſubjects: what can be rationally thought of the whole, but that one of the chief views of the firſt authors of this contrivance, was to juſtify the late tragedy of king *James* III. and the act made to ſupport it; to raiſe the power of the nobility or ſtates, and depreſs the majeſty of kings, and to ſet up a tribunal on earth for him, who, by all former laws and hiſtories, was anſwerable for his adminiſtration to God alone: and that all the ancient ſucceſſion of kings in the *Scotiſh* line, before *Fergus* II. and all thoſe glorious pretended atchievements that accompany this new ſcheme of hiſtory, were only deſigned to flatter the nation into a belief of it, and to make it go better down with the king and people.

So that whoever will impartially conſider the new principles and ſcheme of government contained in *Boece*'s hiſtory, with the many inſtances it furniſhes of the kings of *Scotland* called to an account, and puniſhed by their ſubjects for pretended male-adminiſtration: and compare that hiſtory with all the *Scotiſh* hiſtories or chronicles written before the reign of king *James* III. (in none of which will be found ſo much as one inſtance of any ſuch popular power, either exerciſed, or even claimed by the *Scots* over their ſovereigns) will be forced to add to all the proofs we have already given of the forgery of *Boece*'s vouchers, this new one; and naturally conclude, that all theſe pretended writers, on whoſe authority *Boece* built his hiſtory of the forty kings, are late inventions, poſterior to the death of king *James* III. deſigned only to ſerve a turn, and ſo be convinced by a new proof, not only of the forgery of *Veremund* and his other vouchers; but of their being compoſed a little before *Boece*'s own time, upon occaſion of the rebellion againſt king *James* III. and the act made to juſtify it.

Who the firſt authors of this forgery were is not, eſpecially at this diſtance of time, to be gueſſed

ſed at; and to be ſure, be who they will, they took care to have this work of darkneſs ſo warily carried on as not to be diſcovered. But it cannot be doubted, but that the firſt contrivers have been ſome of theſe concerned in the factions againſt the government in theſe days, or dependents on them; who, like *Annius* of *Viterbe*, another famous impoſtor, who lived at the ſame time, have, in all appearance, firſt forged upon *John Fordun*'s chronicle, new hiſtories of *Scotland* under the names of *Veremund*, *John Campbel*, &c. and then conveyed them ſo cunningly to the place where they were found, and ſuppoſed to have been long preſerved, that both the noblemen who ſent them, and *Boéce*, who made uſe of them as copies of genuine records, were equally impoſed upon.

BUT be this as it will, it is but too evident by the writers about that time, that partly by the power the ſtates or nobles had aſſumed, on occaſion of the long minority of king *James* II, III, and V. and for the other reaſons mentioned before, but eſpecially on occaſion of this act, to juſtify the rebellion againſt king *James* III. partly by the many bad examples which our neighbours of *England* had given in their wars againſt king *John*, and king *Henry* III. in tneir conduct towards their kings, *Edward* II. and *Richard* II. as well as in the whole courſe of the conteſt betwixt the houſes of *Lancaſter* and *York*: by all theſe occaſions, I ſay, the reſpect for the perſons and dignity of our kings was ſo generally diminiſhed among the *Scots* towards the end of the fifteenth, and beginning of the ſixteenth age, the ſpirit of rebellion and ſedition raiſed to ſuch a pitch, and the opinion of the power of the ſtates and nobles (in itſelf ſo popular) had gained ſo much ground, that even very well-meaning men, and otherwiſe learned, were imbued with it.

SUCH were the notions of (*a*) *John Major*, as appears by his ſcholaſtick reaſonings, on the right of king *Robert Bruce* to the crown, in his hiſtory, publiſhed ſome four or five years before that of *Boece*; ſuch were alſo thoſe of *Hector Boece* himſelf; who, though the account he gave to the publick how he came by his vouchers, ſcreens him in a great meaſure from being ſuſpected to have contrived them himſelf, yet he had never ſo confidently delivered the principles and facts he relates againſt the ſovereignty of the kings of *Scotland* in ancient times, had he not been already in ſome meaſure tainted with them, as we have already obſerved.

AND thus far, as to *Hector Boece* and his hiſtory of the firſt forty kings. It remains now to examine that of *Buchanan*, after I have firſt given an account of the hiſtories of the firſt forty kings, as they are ſet down by Biſhop *Leſly* and *David Chambers*, who, in order of time, were the firſt

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(*a*) Joan. Maj. *fol.* 78.

that wrote the hiſtory of *Scotland* after *Boece*, and ſome years before *Buchanan*; and all of them wrote on *Boece*'s plan, and copied from him.

ART. III. *Of* John Leſly *biſhop of* Roſs, *and his hiſtory of* Scotland.

JOHN LESLY bred at *Aberdeen*, finiſhed his ſtudies in the univerſity of *Paris*, where having taken the degree of licentiate of the laws, he was choſen one of the procurators, *A. D.* 1553, and after having paſſed doctor of the laws returned home, and was made official of *Aberdeen* A. D. 1560. He was one of thoſe that came to *Edinburgh* from that univerſity, to defend the ancient religion againſt the new reformers, and in the year following was ſent over to *France* by a party of the nobility, to invite queen *Mary* home. *A. D.* 1566. he was choſen one of the lords of the ſeſſion, and of the privy-council by the queen, and named by her majeſty to the biſhoprick of *Roſs*. *A. D.* 1568. he was one of the chief of the commiſſioners for the queen, in the conferences held at *York* and *London* againſt *Murray* and his party; and continued afterwards her majeſty's ambaſſador at the *Engliſh* court four or five years, the two laſt of which he was kept priſoner by queen *Elizabeth*, and at laſt got leave to go to *France*, where he arrived in *January* 1574. He went afterwards firſt to *Germany*, then to *Rome*, to promote the queen his ſovereign's cauſe, and ſollicit at the *Impe-*

rial court the reſtitution of the *Scotiſh* monaſteries. He was conſecrated biſhop at *Rome*, and publiſh'd his hiſtory of *Scotland*, dedicated to pope *Gregory* XIII. who was at the expence of printing it, and of the cuts of the king's genealogies, and of the maps of *Scotland*; it was publiſhed in the beginning of the year 1578. From *Rome* he returned back to *Germany*, continuing his negotiations for his ſoveraign and his country; and obtained that ſame year, 1578. an edict of the emperor *Rodolph*, for re-eſtabliſhing the *Scotiſh* monaſteries. From thence he came back to *France*, where he was for ſome years ſuffragan to the archbiſhop of *Rouen*, till queen *Mary*'s death, after which he went into *Flanders*. He died at *Bruſſels*, A.D. 1596.

As to his hiſtory of *Scotland*, having been (as we have ſeen) all along, till the time that he publiſhed it, continually in publick buſineſs, negotiations or voyages, he had very little leiſure to compoſe a hiſtory, except during the laſt two years he was in *England* in priſon. And in effect (*a*) he informs us himſelf, that it was during that impriſonment that he compiled it in a rude draught, and poliſhed it afterwards, during the abode he made at *Rome*, which could not be long, ſince he

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(*a*) Scotorum hiſtoriam, quam in carcere rudiorem informaram, indeque tanquam naufragii tabulam in Italiam importaram; texendam ſeu potius a principio denuo retexendam qua potui diligentia curavi. *Epiſt. dedic. ad Greg.* P. XIII. *pag.* 7.

calls it ſome months (*his* (*a*) *menſibus*). So that the circumſtances in which he wrote, would alone engage us not to look upon it as a work of much time and diſcuſſion, nor take ſtrictly, in the literal ſenſe, what he ſays in his preface to his countrymen, of his conſulting upon his hiſtory, and comparing it with the (*b*) annals kept in the royal archives of *Scotland*, with the books of *Paſlay*, *Scoon*, and other monaſtery books; which thoſe that have ſeen what remain of theſe books, and have examined biſhop *Leſly*'s hiſtory, may be apt to take it for a bare flouriſh of rhetorick, in order to grace his performance with ſtrangers: but I would rather interpret his expreſſion, as meaning only that he had formerly ſeen, before his leaving *Scotland*, ſome of theſe monuments of hiſtory, as a curious man is apt to do; but that after many years ſpent in publick negotiations and troubles, he had no diſtinct memory of them in particular, elſe to be ſure he had never mentioned them as a ſtandard of his hiſtory, unleſs he means that he had ſeen them at ſecond-hand, that is, in the only original he had to follow in foreign countries, or under confinement, and which it is evident he followed *verbatim*, to wit, the hiſtory of *Boece*, whom he, no doubt, ſuppoſed had peruſed them.

(*a*) Fœtum hunc non tam meum Scoticumve, quam Romanam etſi a nobis antea conceptus Romæ tamen *his menſibus* maximè editus adolevit) &c. *Epiſt. dedic. ad Card. Sermonettam Scotiæ protector. pag.* 3.

(*b*) Parænеſ. ad nobil. & pop. Scot. p. 14.

AND to prove that biſhop *Leſly*'s hiſtory, eſpecially that part of it which relates to the firſt forty kings, contained in his firſt three books, which is all of it in which I am at preſent concerned, was not founded upon the chronicles of *Scoon*, *Paſly*, or our monaſtery books: there needs no more but to remember, what we have already often obſerved, that thoſe chronicles, and all our monaſtery books that have yet appeared, are really meer copies of *Fordun*, as to the ſtory of the forty, or forty-five kings before *Fergus* the ſon of *Erch*, called *Fergus* II. and indeed as to all the *Scotiſh* hiſtory, till king *David* I's. death: and then compare *Leſly*'s hiſtory of the firſt forty kings on the one hand, with *Fordun*'s accounts of them, and on the other, with thoſe of *Boece*; and it will plainly appear, that biſhop *Leſly*'s is a bare abridgment of *Boece*, even in the moſt incredible ſtories, and differs no leſs than *Boece* does from *Fordun*'s accounts of theſe firſt kings, and by conſequence, from all our ancient monaſtery books.

AND indeed that is all that could be expected in thoſe days from one in biſhop *Leſly*'s circumſtances, who having no leiſure from his conſtant employments at home, and no opportunity in his priſons, voyages, and negotiations abroad, to compile a new hiſtory, from what remains there were of our ancient monaſtery books; and finding alſo *Boece*'s hiſtory generally received in thoſe days as

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the ſtandard of our hiſtory; but that the prolixity of it made it tedious to the readers (*a*), he thought the beſt ſervice he could do to his country was to abridge it, by retrenching what ſeemed ſuperfluous, retaining ſtill the ſame body of hiſtory, and all that ſeemed ſubſtantial in it: but I conceive it may be preſumed of a perſon of biſhop *Leſly*'s character, loyalty, and good ſenſe, that if his affairs and circumſtances had allowed him the leiſure and conveniency of examining *Boece*'s hiſtory, upon what remained of *Fordun* and his continuators; and upon the accounts that the *Roman* and ancient *Britiſh* writers give of the northern parts of *Britain*, he would have made great alterations in *Boece*'s hiſtory of the firſt forty kings, both as to the facts related, and as to the principles of government it is built upon. What is then truly valuable in biſhop *Leſly*'s hiſtory, is that part of it which is properly his own, where he is guided by his own lights, and not by thoſe of *Boece*, eſpecially the accounts which he gives of tranſactions in *Scotland*, from the death of king *James* V, till queen *Mary*'s return to *Scotland*, A.D. 1561. And as to his true principles on monarchical government, and on the independency of ſoveraigns of all, except God alone; the curious may find

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(*a*) Multi & exteri & noſtri mihi fuerunt authores— ut anteactæ ætatis hiſtoriam quam Joan. Major verâ ſed non ſatis ornata & *Hect. Boetius* ornata, ſed non ſatis preſſa oratione (ut nonnulli quæruntur) explicarat, arctius comprimerem, *Leſl. paræniſ. ad Scot. pag.* 14. *edit. Rom.*

them proved from ſcripture in a (*a*) writing he gave in to queen *Elizabeth*, the 4th of *March*, 15$\frac{70}{71}$.

ART IV. *Of* David Chambers *of* Ormond, *his abridgement of the* Scotiſh *hiſtory, and citations from* Veremund.

DAVID CHAMBERS of *Ormond*, was one of the lords of the ſeſſion in queen *Mary*'s time; and being afterwards baniſhed his country, came to *Paris* about the year 1571. He wrote an abridgement of the hiſtory of the popes, emperors, kings of *France* and *Scotland*, which he dedicated firſt to king *Charles* IX. *A. D.* 1572. and afterwards, with new additions, to king *Henry* III. *A. D.* 1579. It is of this laſt edition that I made uſe. His hiſtory of *Scotland*, which was his chief view, is a bare abridgment of that of *Hector Boece*, even in the moſt unaccountable ſtories of the firſt forty kings.

WHAT is particular in *Chambers* is, that he tells us, that he himſelf, as well as *Boece*, had ſeen the famous *Veremund* and *Boece*'s other vouchers. At firſt one would be apt to believe that he had ſeen them only, as no doubt the *Engliſh* hiſtorian *Baker* (who ſets them down among his vouchers) ſaw them at ſecond-hand, and only in *Boece*. But

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(*a*) Cotton library, Caligula, *c.* 1. *fol.* 51.

Chambers (*a*) quoting in particular *Veremund*'s own words, from his epiſtle dedicatory to *Malcolm Keanmore*; and in another place (*b*) the ſecond book of *Veremund*'s hiſtory, (which are particulars that *Boece* does not make mention of) theſe citations, I ſay, ſeem to put it out of doubt. 1°. That there was really extant a compilation of *Scotiſh* hiſtory in the beginning of the ſixteenth age, that bore the name of *Veremund*, which *Boece* and *David Chambers* both muſt have ſeen and peruſed. 2°. That what the (*c*) learned *Gordon* of *Straloch* heard of *Boece*'s deſtroying *Veremund*, with other vouchers of his hiſtory, muſt be a miſtake.

BUT let this be as it will, theſe two particular citations of *Chambers* from *Veremund*, do both ſerve for a farther conviction, that this pretended *Veremund*'s hiſtory was a fabulous invention of latter ages. The firſt paſſage contains a copy of the firſt *French* and *Scotiſh* league, betwixt *Charlemagne* and king *Achajus*, A. D. 792. And of this league *Chambers* pretends to give us from his *Veremund* the articles in their proper (*d*) terms bearing a mutual obligation on both nations to aſſiſt one

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(*a*) Hiſt. de D. Chambres, fol. 228.

(*b*) Fol. 95.

(*c*) Nicolſon. Scot. hiſt. library, *p* 75.

(*d*) La teneur de l'alliance perpetuelle amitié, *&c.* L'injure des Anglois, ou force de leurs armes levées contre l'un deſdits François ou Eſcoſſois, ſera commune & repouſſée par tous les deux. Les François etant perſecutez de guerre par les An-

another againſt the *Engliſh*, who this league ſuppoſes had then wars with the *French*, as ordinarily as in the fifteenth age.

Now in the firſt place (tho' there are proofs that *Charlemagne* entertained friendſhip with the king of *Scots*, as he did with other neighbouring *Princes*) yet 'tis certain on the one hand, that the *Heptarchy* ſubſiſting yet in *England*, their own diviſions left no room for their annoying *France*, eſpecially under ſuch a powerful prince as *Charlemagne*; nor do we find that ever they attempted it, till they had a ſettled intereſt to maintain in *France* after the *Norman* conqueſt: So there was not the leaſt occaſion for the *Scots* going to the *French* aſſiſtance, when attacked by the *Engliſh*: and even *Chambers* himſelf is forced to own in other places, that there was no need of this mutual ſuccour, till about three or four hundred years after this: and ſo it is evident, that the true *Veremund* (if ever there was ſuch a man) living under king *Malcolm* III. and writing (as we are told) *A. D.* 1076, could never have advanced, that the kings of *France* and *Scotland* had made in the year 792, about three hundred years before, a league offenſive and defenſive againſt the *Engliſh*, ſince he could not be ignorant that it was ſcarce full ten years,

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glois, le Roy d'Eſcoſſe luy fournira de ſoldats aux depens du Roy de France. Les Eſcoſſois etant provoquez par les Anglois ſeront aidez & ſecourus par les François a leurs fraix & depens, &c. *D. Chamb. fol.* 95, 96, from *Veremund.*

years, ſince the *Engliſh* having acquired, by *William* the conqueror, poſſeſſions in *France*, began (for the firſt time) to have occaſion of war with the *French*; but a writer of the fifteenth or ſixteenth age perſonating *Veremund*, was not obliged to know ſo much.

On the other hand, the *Scots* in thoſe early times were in no poſture to aſſiſt *France*, much leſs to ſend over to it 4000 men, as *Chambers* tells us, that king *Achajus* ſent them under his brother *Willerm* (a way of ſpelling the name *Willelmus* or *William*, never in uſe till the fifteenth century) or *Gilmer*, as others call him: for this was in the end of the eighth age, when the kingdom of the *Scots* in *Britain* was as yet confined to the weſtern coaſts of *Albany*, the whole eaſtern coaſt, from the utmoſt bounds of the north to *Northumberland*, being ſtill under the dominion of the (*a*) *Picts*, whoſe monarchy ſubſiſted in their own name about forty years after this: ſo the *Scots* could have no correſpondence with *France*, nor ſend them forces, but what muſt have paſſed through the *Pictiſh* or *Saxon* territories.

In the ſecond place, theſe articles of the league which *Chambers* ſays he had from *Veremund*, confirm what is proved elſewhere (*b*), that the compilation of *Scotiſh* hiſtory, attributed to *Veremund*,

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(*a*) Supra, *pag.* 79, 80, &c.
(*b*) Supra, *pag.* 245, &c.

was the work of an author of the fifteenth age, or thereabout; for the terms in which *Chambers* cites from his *Veremund* the articles of this league, are the very ſame in ſubſtance, and almoſt the formal expreſſions that we find in the copies of the leagues betwixt the *French* and *Scots* in the fourteenth and fifteenth age, and viſibly borrowed from them.

As to the real league itſelf betwixt *France* and *Scotland*, there is no doubt but it was one of the moſt ancient in *Europe*, obſerved for many ages without any interruption, and with the greateſt fidelity by both nations: and we have to this day a continued ſeries, or tract of theſe leagues renewed in every reign, till the union of the *Scotiſh* and *Engliſh* crowns, from the reign of *Robert* the *Bruce*, in whoſe alliance with *Charles le Bel*, 'tis ſaid to have ſubſiſted a long time (*a*) before: and as to the beginning of it in *Charlemagne*'s time, before *Hector Boece* and *Chambers*, it is indeed mentioned by (*b*) *Fordun*, and by all our monaſtery books, that continued him down; but they mention it only in general as a tradition (*ut traditur*) and they alledge, that the occaſion of it was only that the *Engliſh* or *Saxons* exerciſed piracy ſome-times

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(*a*) Lamitie & bien-voillance *qad eſté de longe tiemps* entre nos predeceſſours roys de *France*, & noſtre royalme & les roys & ledit royalme d'Eſcoſſe encontre le roy d'Engleterre. *Confederacion entre les roys* Charles le Bel & Robert de Brus, *en* 1326.

(*b*) Fordun, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 47.

times on the coaſt of *France*, which ſurely required no need of ſending forces from *Scotland* to *France*, as the articles of the league that *Chambers* relates from *Veremund* expreſsly bear: nor is there indeed any word of the articles at all, or of *Veremund* himſelf, to be met with in *Fordun*, or any of his continuators: and no wonder; for neither theſe particulars, nor the *Veremund* from which they are taken, were as yet invented.

As to the ſecond paſſage related by (*a*) *Chambers*, as taken *verbatim* from his *Veremund*, the ſimple reading of it may ſuffice to convince any man skilled in the accounts of the ancient ſtate of the *North* of *Britain*; that the author of that compilation under *Veremund*'s name, was one of the moſt arrant forgers that ever wrote. Here is the paſſage itſelf tranſlated from *Chambers*'s own account. *Veremund* a *Spaniard*, in the epiſtle dedicatory of his book of the hiſtories of *Scotland* (which he dedicated to *Malcolm* III. the eighty-ſixth king, in the year 1076, writes in the following words. *Although*, ſays *Veremund*, *there be many things contained in the ſaid hiſtories* (*of* Scotland) *which perhaps might ſeem to the readers ſomewhat difficult to be believed, ſince they are not wholly confirmed or atteſted by foreign hiſtorians: yet*, ſays he, *when they ſhall have conſidered that the* Scots *are ſituated in the northern parts of the iſland of* Albion, *and by*

(*a*) Chambers, *fol.* 228, 229.

conſequence very rarely frequented by ſtrangers, which might give them occaſion to write their actions; and when they ſhall have alſo heard that the Scots *were not leſs happy, having almoſt always had, before the times of chriſtianity, the* Druids, *a religious people, for diligent chroniclers; and always, (ſince they received chriſtianity) religious men, faithful hiſtoriographers, ſince they had the* Iſles of Man *and* Ycolmkill, *impregnable places, where they preſerved ſecurely their monuments and antiquities, without giving any copies of them, or even letting them be ſeen by ſtrangers. All this conſidered,* ſays he, *they will ceaſe to wonder* (that foreign writers ſay little or nothing of the *Scotiſh* antiquities.) Thus *Veremund.*

THIS indeed is an invention worthy of ſuch an author, which, if it were admitted of, would alone ſuffice to ſcreen from cenſure or criticiſm, all the cheats or forgers of old writings that ever were or may be. But to let the ſtory of the *Scotiſh* chronicles paſs, which are pretended to have been written in the times of *Paganiſm*, by theſe religious *Druids*, (tho' not one of the many authors that have given full accounts of them, and of their manners, ever reckoned writing of hiſtory among their inſtitutions) one may evidently ſee in this paſſage, that this author who aſſumed the name of *Veremund*, wrote with a formed deſign to impoſe on his credulous readers; and at the ſame time with the precaution of a man, who, conſcious to himſelf of forgery, foreſaw his writings would be ſuſpected, as containing matters wholly new, and never heard of in the world before: to prevent therefore this ſo obvious a ſuſpicion, he is careful to inform us, that theſe *Druids*, and after them the monks of *Ycolmkill*, guardians of thoſe ancient annals of the *Scots*, made a great ſecret of them, and did not communicate them, or ſo much as let them be ſeen by any ſtranger. So no wonder if the ancient *Roman* or *Britiſh* writers make not the leaſt mention of the noble feats they contained.

BUT not to aſk this author many obvious queſtions, as what became of theſe annals, and how they were preſerved when *Ycolmkill* was frequently burnt, and the abbots and monks ſlain in the ninth and tenth age, by the *Danes*, paſſing to and from *Ireland?* and ſuppoſing, for a moment, that the *Scots* had been in old times endued with that ſurprizing modeſty and ſelf-denial without example in all other countries, as to hide and conceal, from all the reſt of the world, down to *Veremund*'s and *Bocce*'s time, all that ancient glorious ſucceſſion of kings, and thoſe martial atchievements performed in the higheſt antiquity, as *Boece* and *Chambers* pretend to have copied from *Veremund:* and allowing alſo, that the then ancient annals of the *Scots* might have been kept in the dark during the firſt three or four hundred years of the *Scotiſh* monarchy before the *Romans* entred *Britain*, and before they had any intercourſe

courſe with the northern *Britains*, (in which caſe indeed we are not to expect any accounts of the *Scots* in thoſe early times, from the *Roman* or *Britiſh* writers.) Was it equally in the power of theſe keepers of the archives of *Ycolmkill* to conceal the *Scotiſh* atchievements againſt the *Romans*, ſince the coming in of the *Romans* to *Britain*, if it be true that the *Scots* had frequent battles and treatiſes with them, even from *Julius Cæſar* and *Auguſtus*'s time, and made ſuch a figure in *Britain* as *Boece* and *Chambers* have it from *Veremund*, and that for more than three hundred years down till the middle of the fourth age? To paſs over the contradiction of the *Scots* making ſo long ſuch a figure, and not being taken notice of; was it, I ſay, in their annaliſt's power to keep the *Scots* all theſe ages ſo unſeen and unheard of, that not one of all the ancient *Roman* writers before *Ammian Marcellin*, ſuch as *Tacitus*, *Dio*, *Herodian*, and others, who give us details of the tranſactions or wars betwixt the *Romans* and the inhabitants of *North Britain*, ſhould ever have once mentioned the *Scots?* Nor any of the ancient geographers *Strabo*, *Mela*, *Ptolemy*, or *Solinus*, in their deſcriptions of the northern as well as ſouthern *Britains*, ſhould ſo much as once have named them?

At this rate it would ſeem that the whole race of ancient *Scotiſh* kings, the whole people, the kingdom itſelf, and their actions in peace and war, muſt have been as carefully kept ſecret during ſix or ſeven hundred years by theſe truſty guardians of the archives of *Ycolmkill*, as the annals themſelves: or rather, who does not ſee that this invention of unknown and unſeen annals and hiſtories for ſo many ages, is all a contradiction, and an ill-contrived artifice to ſcreen the forgery of *Veremund*.

ALL I ſhall ſay to conclude is, that it is a great advantage to truth, that the moſt part of the forgers of pretended old writings were, by the permiſſion of providence, generally ſo extremely ignorant, and frequently of ſo little ſenſe and judgment, that even almoſt in every paſſage of their inventions, one may diſcover anachroniſms, contradictions, and other marks of their forgery.

AND this is all that needs be ſaid of *David Chambers*'s hiſtory of the firſt forty *Scotiſh* kings, which being but an abridgment of that of *Boece*, and built on the ſame authorities, muſt ſtand or fall with it.

BUT this does not hinder *David Chambers*'s abridgment, it being otherwiſe uſeful to hiſtory in more modern times; nor his being himſelf a perſon of merit, both for his rank in the ſtate, his travels and ſufferings in the ſervice of queen *Mary* his lawful ſovereign.

ART. V.

ART. V. *Of* George Buchanan's *account of the firſt forty kings of the* Scots *in* Britain.

§. 1. *The introduction to* Buchanan's *hiſtory. The progreſs of the doctrine of the depoſing power in* Scotland.

BEFORE I enter upon the particular diſcuſſion of *Buchanan*'s hiſtory, it is neceſſary, by way of introduction to it, to continue down the account of the progreſs and farther ſteps that the notions of a power lodged in the ſubjects, to judge and depoſe their ſoveraigns, made in *Scotland*, in the interval betwixt the time of the publiſhing the hiſtory of *Boece*, A. D. 1526, and that of *Buchanan*, A. D. 1582.

THE long and tumultuous minority of king *James* V. who was only one year and five months old when he came to the crown, contributed not a little to fortify and ſpread the notion of the power of the nobility in the adminiſtration of the government, which, during near twenty years, was in their hands, excepting the ſhort interval of the regency of the duke of *Albany*: ſo that king *James*, a prince of a high ſpirit, as ſoon as he came at age, thought himſelf obliged to uſe all his endeavours to recover the prerogative, and by conſequence to reſtrain the over-growing power of the nobility. Thus we ſee that in his firſt parliament (*a*) after his majority, the ancient ſtyle of the acts of parliament which had been long out of uſe, is reſumed, and they generally run thus; *Our ſoveraign lord ordains*, &c. or, *Our ſoveraign lord, with advice and conſent of the prelates, barons*, &c. *ordains*, &c. And as to the nobility, 'tis thought by ſome that king *James* V. carried his reſentments and reſolution to humble them too far, or at leaſt that he went too faſt on in that deſign, and did not act with ſuch caution as the temper of the people with whom he had to do did require. So he died in the ſtruggle.

By his death the crown falling again into a minority, and that of a woman, and the diviſions of the ſtate, occaſioned by the emiſſaries and penſioners of *England*, and by the new opinions about religion, running higher than ever, the popular power made a new progreſs: and to confirm the matter, the levelling doctrines introduced by the firſt *Scotiſh* reformers, trained up all of them in the republican *Geneva* principles, infected not only the nobility but the commons: ſo that whereas hitherto all the commotions that had happened in the kingdom, and the revolts againſt the ſoveraign, had been the effect of the factions of the nobility alone, without the commons having ever had any other ſhare in rebellion, than by blindly following the great men on whom they depended:

(*a*) 4 Parl. Jac. V. an. 1535.

it is very remarkable, that from the time the *Scots* drank the cup of the levelling *Geneva* doctrine, and never till then, the commons began to draw into factions by themſelves, convocated by the miniſters, and having them, or ſome of their zealots among the nobility incited by them, at their head; and the commons being once perſuaded by theſe new doctors, that monarchy had its firſt origine from the peoples election of kings, and that all kings and magiſtrates were originally the peoples creatures, they doubted not but they had ſtill an equal power to depoſe or reform them, as at firſt to create them.

IT is no leſs remarkable, that till the times of this reformation, all rebellions in *Scotland* had proceeded from the private diſcontents and factions of ſome of the nobility, grown too powerful for the crown, or combining together by aſſociations againſt it; and that in all the hiſtory of *Scotland*, till the reformers came in, it was never heard of, that either the pretence of religion, or the ancient clergy, had ever any ſhare in rebellions, much leſs were the churchmen the trumpeters of it, but that on the contrary, they always uſed all their endeavours (witneſs the conduct of the biſhops *Kenedy* and *Elphinſton*) to pacify commotions, and to compoſe any differences that happened betwixt the ſoveraign and the ſubjects; and when factions grew too high to be quelled by their mediation, the churches revenues were always at the king's diſpoſal, to enable him to ſuppreſs rebellion by the authority given him by God. But from the time that the *Scotiſh* reformation ſet up, rebellion put on, for the firſt time, the mask of religion, and had ſome of the firſt *Scotiſh* reformers for the incendiaries of it, and their falſe gloſſes and interpretations of the holy ſcripture the incentives; and ſo it became more common, and more ſucceſsful than ever before.

It was then mainly under the cloak of religion and reformation, that this ſpirit of revolt againſt the higher powers was firſt induſtriouſly infuſed and deeply rooted in the hearts of many of the *Scotiſh* commons and nobility, by the vehement invectives of *John Knox*, and others of the firſt doctors of the reformation, againſt the then governing powers, chiefly for theſe reaſons; that they remained firm and conſtant in the ancient religion, and would not repeal the laws and acts made in the time of their anceſtors to ſupport it: upon that ground it was that thoſe new doctors went about perſuading the people, by wreſted texts of ſcripture, that when the ſupreme magiſtrate or ſoveraign refuſed or demurred to ſuppreſs the religion eſtabliſhed by law, (which they called idolatry) or continued to countenance it, in that caſe, the nobles or commons were obliged either to compel their ſoveraign to aboliſh it, or take arms and do it themſelves, whether their ſoveraign would or not. This is the purport of two of the firſt blaſts of the famous *John Knox*'s trumpet of rebellion, to wit, of his appellation to the nobility, *A. D.* 1555; and admonition to the commonalty of *Scotland*, A. D. 1558; which are printed both at length at the end of the edition of his hiſtory in folio, and in quarto.

IN conſequence of this doctrine, during the regency of the queen, who was mother to queen *Mary*, ſeveral nobles and commons, ſtirred up by the violent declamations of theſe reformers, combined together, by oaths and leagues of mutual defence, under the title of the *Congregation*, and reſolved to carry on the alteration of religion by open violence, in caſe that the queen regent ſhould refuſe to yield to their demands, and aboliſh the old religion, and give way to their innovations: accordingly, upon the queen regent's oppoſing their new doctrine, they firſt took up arms againſt her, and having entred into league againſt the government with *England*, they obtained men and money from queen *Elizabeth*, for carrying on the rebellion; and not contented with that, they proceeded to depoſe the queen, mother to their ſoveraign, from the regency.

WHAT is very remarkable in their proceedings to depoſe the queen regent, or, as they called it, to ſuſpend her from the exerciſe of the regency, is firſt, that notwithſtanding the progreſs that the antimonarchical principles had made, eſpecially by the ſeditious preachings and writings of *Knox*, and others of the firſt reformers, and tho' they were actually in arms againſt the government; yet the depriving the queen of the regency, committed to her by the queen her daughter, their ſoveraign, and confirmed by act of parliament; the depriving her without authority of one or other, was a thing ſo new, and ſo unprecedented in all former hiſtory, that the lords of the congregation themſelves demurred upon the point; and before they would venture to go on with it, thought it neceſſary to conſult the two leading miniſters of the congregation, *Knox* and *Willocks*, who were looked upon by them as oracles; and who both of them unanimouſly gave their judgment for the lawfulneſs of that proceeding: upon which deciſion the lords of the congregation, who by all the laws then in being, had no other character but that of private ſubjects, and thoſe rebels too, took upon them to deprive the queen, mother to their ſoveraign, of the adminiſtration of the government.

ANOTHER thing remarkable in their depriving the queen regent, is the authority by which they profeſs to do it, to wit, *in the* (*a*) *name, and by the authority* (as their act bears) *of their ſoveraign lord* [Francis, *king of* France, *and of* Scotland] *and of their ſoveraign lady* [*queen* Mary, *daughter to the queen regent.*] That is, in plain terms, they

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(*a*) Knox. hiſt. *p.* 195.

make uſe of the name and authority of the king and queen, to deprive the queen regent from acting by their authority, and endeavouring to execute their majeſties expreſs orders towards maintaining the ancient ſtanding religion, and oppoſing the new reformation towards ſuppreſſing open rebellion againſt their authority; and for her withſtanding their deſtroying and ruining all the glorious monuments of the piety of the ancient kings and nobility of *Scotland*, all over the kingdom, without ſparing even the aſhes and ſepulchres of their royal predeceſſors; and eſpecially for her making uſe of the auxiliaries ſent from *France* by their majeſties themſelves to her aid againſt the rebels, to execute thoſe their commiſſions. Theſe were the crimes for which the oracles of the *Scotiſh* reformation judged the queen regent worthy to be deprived of her authority, and for which the lords of the congregation made uſe of the name and authority of the king and queen to deprive her: and this is the firſt time I find the name and authority of the king made uſe of, to deprive or oppoſe thoſe acting by his commiſſion.

ARCHBISHOP *Spotſwood*, with good reaſon, condemns this bold deciſion of *Knox* and *Willocks* (*a*), and their abuſing the holy ſcripture to countenance it: and no wonder, for he lived to ſee the diſmal effects of this doctrine by men of the

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(*a*) Spotſwood, *p.* 136.

ſame principles, carrying on a rebellion againſt a proteſtant king [*Charles* I.] and depoſing and baniſhing the proteſtant biſhops, and himſelf at the head of them, and that too on the ſame principles, with an equal ſhew of ſcripture texts interpreted by themſelves.

BUT to proceed; the lords of the congregation having obtained conſiderable forces by ſea and land, with money to pay their own troops from *England:* and the queen regent being dead, chiefly of grief in the caſtle of *Edinburgh*, they got the better of the loyal party; and a treatiſe (*a*) enſued at *Leith*, which was favourable to the reformers, by the influence of queen *Elizabeth*, and of *Montluc*, the *French* ambaſſador in *Scotland*, whom all the world knows was then, tho' a biſhop, but a very lewd one, a great favourer of the reformers. However this treatiſe was never (*b*) ratified by queen *Mary*. Soon after, in *Auguſt*, 1560. the kingdom being now in confuſion, a tumultuous aſſembly, chiefly compoſed of the favourers of the new religion met at *Edinburgh:* and though they had no commiſſion nor authority from king or queen, the articles of the treatiſe at *Leith* not being ratified, they called themſelves a parliament, and took upon them an authority and juriſdiction ſuperior to all our parliaments that ever were, by reſcinding at once, all the laws and acts that had been

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(*a*) Knox, *p.* 251, 252.

(*b*) Spotſwood.

made in *Scotland* in favour of the religion eſtabliſhed by all our ancient parliaments, ſince theſe aſſemblies were in being, and by all our ancient kings, ſince chriſtianity was firſt planted in *Scotland.*

BUT the zeal of the firſt reformers did not ſtop at the overturning religion, but ſtruck directly at the right of monarchy, and at the perſon of the ſoveraign, by putting in execution this new maxim of ſtate, which became the chief foundation of the reformation in *Scotland* : *That when the king or ſoveraign was an idolater, a murtherer*, &c. (of which they ſuſtained themſelves judges) *God's people* [the ſubjects that embraced the reformation] *not only might, but ought to execute God's judgments upon him, according to God's law, and puniſh him, not as a king, but as an offender* : this was the common doctrine of *Knox* and his aſſociates, the pillars of the *Scotiſh* reformation, and was maintained with the greateſt aſſurance as a ſcripture doctrine, by the ſame *John Knox*, and others of them againſt ſecretary *Lethington*, in a long conference of twenty pages, which may be ſeen in (*a*) *Knox*'s hiſtory. It was in conſequence of this doctrine that queen *Mary* their ſoveraign was thrown into priſon, deprived of her royal authority, forced to reſign her kingdom to an infant of thirteen months old ; by which the whole exerciſe of the regal power might be

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(*a*) Knox. hiſt. from *p.* 377, to *p.* 397. *edit. in fol.*

be conveyed to *Murray* and *Morton*, the leading men among this *godly people:* and it was to juſtify theſe proceedings againſt the ſoveraign to poſterity, and to make theſe principles of government paſs for the ancient conſtitution of the kingdom, and the right of the *Scotiſh* monarchy; that *Buchanan* firſt publiſh'd his dialogue, *De jure regni apud Scotos*; and afterwards his hiſtory to ſupport it, as we are now to ſhew more at length.

§. 2. *Of* M. George Buchanan; *of his writings againſt his ſoveraign* Mary *queen of* Scotland.

M. GEORGE BUCHANAN was born in *Lennox*, about the year of our Lord 1506. After his firſt ſtudies in *Scotland* he came to *Paris*, whence after two years he went home again and ſtudied philoſophy at St. *Andrew*'s. He came back to *Paris* A. D. 1527. and upon proof of his being made batchelor of arts in the univerſity of St. *Andrew*'s, he was, according to the privilege our *Scotiſh* univerſities enjoyed in thoſe times in *Paris*, admitted to the ſame degree in that univerſity, and commenced maſter of arts in *April* 1528, and in *June* 1530. he was elected one of the four procurators: the reſt of his life, till he returned to *Scotland* during queen *Mary*'s reign, may be ſeen done by himſelf among his works, and continued on lately by Sir *Robert Sibbald* and Mr. *Ruddiman*, to whom I muſt refer the reader for the high *Elogium*'s which all the beſt judges, of proſe and of verſe, in *Buchanan*'s *chanan*'s time, and ever ſince, have deſervedly made of his elegant *Latin* ſtyle, and of his incomparable vein of poeſy: in both which kinds of literature, he ſeems to have ſurpaſſed all that came before him, ſince the decay of the purity of the *Latin* tongue, and perhaps all that have written ſince. It had been happy for his own memory, and for his country, if he had kept himſelf within theſe his proper talents, and not meddled with politicks, of which he could have no great experience, never having been bred to them, nor in any publick buſineſs, till he was paſt threeſcore years of age: and indeed it was a very ſurprizing thing to wiſe and moderate men, to ſee a private man, who had never been in any employment of the ſtate, but had ſpent moſt of his years in colleges or private families, teaching youth, or in reading and forming his ſtile in proſe and verſe on claſſical authors, ſet up all on a ſudden for a ſtateſman, capable to give leſſons of politicks, and form new ſchemes of the government of ſtates and monarchies, which is the ſubject of his book, *De jure regni*; in which, ſays the learned *Straloch*, *forgetting himſelf, he treats of ſuch matters as require the pen of the beſt divine and moſt skilful lawyer*, as well as of the moſt experienced ſtateſman.

AND as to his talent in hiſtory, I mean that of ancient times, this requiring great knowledge of antiquity and critical learning, the two firſt books of his hiſtory of *Scotland* furniſh us with a proof, that he had applied himſelf to theſe ſtudies, and was for thoſe times more than ordinarily verſed in them: and if with that he had been more free of prejudices, and of the ſpirit of party, leſs addicted to *Platonick* ſchemes of government of his own forming, and had found good vouchers, and been exact to follow them; his fluent and copious *Latin* ſtyle would have rendered him more capable than any in his time, to write the ancient hiſtory of his country with advantage.

BUT if we may depend upon the character given of him by one of his friends, that knew him well, and lived familiarly with him, I mean Sir *James Melvil*; no man was more unfit than *Buchanan*, for giving us a true account, or hiſtory of his own time, eſpecially in his old age when he ſet about it. *Buchanan*, ſays this (*a*) writer, *was a ſtoick philoſopher, who looked not far before him; a man of notable endowments for his learning and knowledge in latin poeſy, much honoured in other countries*, &c. *but he was eaſily abuſed, and ſo facile, that he was led by every company that he haunted, which made him factious in his old days, for he ſpoke and wrote as thoſe who were about him: he was become careleſs, following in many things the vulgar opinion: he was naturally popular, and extremely revengeful againſt any man who had offended him, which was his greateſt fault.* To this my author adds two inſtances of his paſſionate revengeful humour. It

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(*a*) Melvil's memoirs, *p.* 125.

was neceſſary to take notice here of this character given of *Buchanan* by one that knew him ſo well, for we ſhall ſoon ſee the effects of it, eſpecially of his credulity and paſſionate humour: and all the accounts that he hath left us of what paſt in *Scotland* in his own time, are new confirmations of it, eſpecially what he wrote againſt queen *Mary*.

THAT princeſs, who was herſelf a notable proficient in learning, and a great encourager of men of letters, had always, both abroad and at home, protected and favoured *Buchanan*: among other gifts ſhe beſtowed upon him *A. D.* 1564 the temporal revenue of the abbey of *Croſraguel*; and for the particular eſteem that ſhe had of his capacity, ſhe invited him home to *Scotland*, as he informs us (*a*), in order to truſt him with the education of the prince her ſon *A. D.* 1565, even before the child was born; accordingly *Buchanan* had always extolled that princeſs with the greateſt *Elogiums*; witneſs his dedication of his pſalms, *Nympha Caledoniæ*, and others: but as ſoon as ſhe fell into adverſity, a ſacrifice to the ambition of her baſe brother, the prior of St. *Andrew*'s, whom ſhe had created earl of *Murray*, and who had been *Buchanan*'s pupil: he changed his note, and from being a great admirer of that illuſtrious princeſs his ſoveraign and benefactrix, he became her mortal enemy, having contributed more than could

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(*a*) Buchan. in vita ſua.

have been expected of one of his low rank to her depoſition from her royal dignity; having joined thoſe that aimed at her life, and having afterwards, with a pen dipt in vinegar and gall, done all that lay in his power to ruin her reputation, which was dearer to her than her life. Now as his libel *De jure regni apud Scotos*, was chiefly deſigned to juſtify the rebellious proceedings of her ſubjects againſt that queen, and his hiſtory calculated to ſupport that libel, it ſeems neceſſary, in order to put this in a better light, and lay open the grounds of *Buchanan*'s hiſtory, to ſay ſomething here of the cauſe of that injured princeſs, and of the misfortunes that befel her.

QUEEN *Mary* was firm in the religion of her anceſtors; and tho' at her return home to *Scotland*, by the perſuaſion of her baſe brother the prior, (into whoſe hands, at her firſt coming, ſhe had the misfortune to reſign herſelf) and by the apprehenſion of a new rebellion from the zealots of the *Knoxian* party, who beſet her, ſhe had been prevailed upon to leave matters of religion in the ſtate ſhe found them, and had even been led on to proſecute thoſe that were the beſt diſpoſed, and the moſt capable to maintain her authority, and a liberty of conſcience for thoſe of her own perſuaſion, to wit, the family of *Huntly*; yet the *Knoxian* party was not able to perſuade her to confirm the change of religion by act of parliament, or to eſtabliſh the new religion by law;

partly becauſe of her averſion to force her ſubjects conſciences, and to give way to a legal proſecution of thoſe of her own perſuaſion; and partly becauſe, by degrees, as ſhe came to be better informed of the ſtate of the country, and of the ſpirit of that party, by their inſolent and ſeditious declamations, and the boldneſs they had, eſpecially *Knox*, in ſpite of all the laws, to ſend out their circular letters, and make a convocation of the lieges to execute their fiery reſolutions, the queen perceived that they drove on, as well at the ruin of monarchy in the ſtate, by rendering the regal authority precarious, as they had ruined hierarchy in the church; ſo ſhe began to be more on her guard with them, and not ſo liberal in her conceſſions.

THIS increaſed their hatred againſt her, looking on their religion as unſecure, as long as the queen's authority was acknowledged, or that ſhe herſelf was alive, or at liberty: for however moderate ſhe was in matters of religion in her own nature, her being deſcended by her mother of the houſe of *Loraine* and of *Guiſe*; and the bare name of queen *Mary*, becauſe of queen *Mary* of *England*, made her odious and dreadful to the blind zealots: and what the earl of *Kent* ſaid openly to her at *Fodringhay* the night before ſhe ſuffered, (*a*) *Thy life will be the death of our religion*; *and thy death will*

(*a*) Tua vita exitium erit noſtræ religionis, ut contra tuum exitium ejuſdem erit vita. *Camden. vit. Eliz. pag.* 455. *edit. fol.*

be the life of it, was all along, during all the courſe of her life, the ſecret ſentiments of all the zealots of the puritan party in *Britain*; as to the moderate proteſtants, it is very well known ſhe was highly reſpected by them, and had a conſiderable party for her even in *England*: but whoever will impartially conſider the whole tract of contradictions and misfortunes that attended her, from the time that *Henry* II. king of *France*, her father-in-law, engaged her with her husband king *Francis*, to aſſume the arms of *England* after the death of queen *Mary*, and eſpecially from her return to *Scotland* till her death, will eaſily diſcover, that her attachment to the religion of her anceſtors, the jealouſy of queen *Elizabeth*, and the ambition of *Murray* and *Morton*, were the real ſources from whence originally they all proceeded.

EVERY body knows that theſe two lords, *Murray* and *Morton*, were the chief oppoſers of the queen's marriage with the lord *Darnley*; *Murray* openly taking arms with others his aſſociates, and *Morton* ſecretly, and by craft; and when the marriage was conſummated in ſpite of them, and *Murray* was forced for his rebellion to fly into *England*: the next care of *Morton*, who remained at home, was to ſow diviſion betwixt the queen and her husband, by inſpiring that young, unexperienced prince; the barbarous deſign of murthering her ſecretary *Riccio* in her own preſence, whilſt ſhe was big with child.

HERE follows a ſhort account of that villany, taken from letters of the time. To prevent the attainder of *Murray*, and of his accomplices, which was intended in the enſuing parliament, *Morton*, *Lindſay*, *Ruthven*, and others their friends, addreſſed themſelves to king *Henry*, intreating him for *Murray*, promiſing him the matrimonial crown if he would follow their advice, and in order to that, they perſuaded him to concur with them to deſtroy *David Riccio*, as being the chief obſtacle, by his counſel to the queen, of his obtaining the matrimonial crown, and a greater ſhare in the authority and adminiſtration. By theſe inſinuations they perſuaded this young, unexperienced and ambitious nobleman, not only to forget all the ties of honour, allegiance and gratitude to his ſoveraign, who had preferred him to ſo many great princes that had courted her, but to commit the baſeſt treachery and hazard, all at once, the life of the queen his ſpouſe, and of the child in her womb (ſhe being now about ſix months gone) by murdering her ſervant in her own preſence, whereas they had daily occaſion to do it in twenty other places: upon this, writs were drawn up, and mutually ſigned by this imprudent prince, and the conſpirators; and accordingly, on *Saturday* night, the 9th of *March*, the queen being at ſupper with the counteſs of *Argyle*, they poſſeſſed themſelves of the palace, entered into the queen's cloſet, king *Henry* leading the way, threatned the queen, and barbarouſly murthered her ſervant *Riccio*.

MEAN time, they make the queen priſoner in her own palace; but ſhe having opened to her husband the danger to which they were both expoſed by this plot, they eſcaped both in diſguiſe to *Dunbar*; and the country being acquainted, did aſſemble in defence of the queen, who returned to *Edinburgh*; and *Morton*, with the other conſpirators, fled to *England*. The chief deſign of this conſpiracy was to alienate the queen's affection from her husband, which king *Henry* perceiving, conceived a mortal hatred againſt *Murray* and *Morton*, who had involved him in this misfortune; this again produced an equal hatred in them againſt king *Henry*, which ended in his murther. *Murray* joining with *Bothwel* to get home *Morton*, and all three aiming at the king's deſtruction for different ends. *Murray* and *Morton*, out of a hatred to his perſon, and an ambitious deſire to have the ruling of the kingdom; and *Bothwel*, a vain-glorious man, being put in hopes, that if by any means the king was taken off, he might be divorced from his lady, and married to the queen.

(*a*) *BOTHWEL*, blinded with ambition, and with the hopes ſuggeſted to him, undertook the crime, and moſt villainouſly committed the murther. *Murray* ſlipped off the day before, that he might not be ſuſpected, but that the whole ſuſpicion might fall upon the queen;

(*a*) Camden, p. 115.

and to augment it, as ſoon as he came back to court, he and others of them that were in the plot, began to commend *Bothwel* to the queen for the ſplendor of his family, his valour in expeditions againſt the *Engliſh*, and his ſingular fidelity to the crown, and repreſented him to her as the moſt proper perſon that ſhe could make choice of to be her husband: they ſuggeſted at the ſame time, that ſhe alone would never be able to bear the weight of the affairs of the kingdom, to appeaſe tumults and ſeditions; that it was therefore moſt expedient for her to pitch upon *Bothwel* for a husband, and to be partner of her counſels and dangers, he being a man who was able, willing, and daring enough to encounter them.

(*a*) BY theſe diſcourſes, and the conſtant proofs of fidelity that *Bothwel* had given to the queen her mother, when almoſt all the reſt of the nobility abondoned her, and by thoſe he had given to herſelf; this deſolate princeſs, not yet recovered of the fright of two murthers, the one of her ſervant, committed in her own preſence, the other of her husband, ſome hours after ſhe had been with him, knowing none that ſhe could truſt with her ſafety preferable to *Bothwel*, at laſt promiſed to conſider of it, but with this *proviſo*; in the firſt place, that a due care ſhould be had of the ſafety of the prince her ſon. 2°. That *Bothwel*

(*a*) Camden, *p.* 116.

ſhould be purged in due form of law from all ſuſpicion of the king her husband's murther. 3°. That he ſhould be legally declared free from all engagement of his former marriage.

(*a*) THE next application of thoſe conſpirators was to get *Bothwel* declared innocent of the murther of the king; a parliament was therefore ſummoned, and proclamations made for the diſcovery of all that were ſuſpected to be acceſſary to the crime. And becauſe the earl of *Lenox*, father to the late king, accuſed principally *Bothwel*, and made great inſtance, that before the parliament met he ſhould be brought to a trial: this alſo was granted, and *Lenox* ſummoned to have ready his accuſations and proofs againſt the twentieth day; but *Lenox* hearing nothing in the mean-time from the queen of *England*, and fearing, as he ſaid, to come to a town full of his enemies, deſired to have the time prolonged; but he delayed doing it till it was too late: his letter to the queen bearing date the eleventh of *April*, could not come to her hands till after the twelfth, which was the day aſſigned for the trial: ſo it went on, and *Bothwel* was acquitted by a jury of his peers, *Morton* ſolliciting for him: and a few days after his acquittal the parliament being convened, where were preſent, beſides biſhops and abbots, twenty-ſix earls and lords of the temporal ſtate, and among

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(*a*) Camden, vit. Eliz. *p.* 116.

thoſe, *Morton*, *Lindſay*, *Ruthven*, and *Semple*, who were afterwards the chief of the conſpirators: no perſon made any reclamation; on the contrary, the laſt day of the parliament there was a bond ſigned by ſeveral of the nobility, and among others by *Morton*, by which they engaged themſelves to join with *Bothwel* againſt all that ſhould ſlander him with the king's murther, and at the ſame time declared their opinion in favour of his marriage with the queen.

(*a*) BY theſe artifices of the conſpirators the queen was kept in ignorance of *Bothwel's* guilt, and made believe, that all the reports made of his being an actor in the crime, were only calumnies of his enemies: ſo the proceſs of his divorce with his wife being paſſed in both courts, and the banes proclaimed, they were on the fifteenth of *May* married by the ſame *Adam Bothwel*, biſhop of *Orkney*, who was afterwards one of the principal inſtruments of *Murray* at the conferences of *York* and *London*, in proſecuting and defaming the queen: this was the moſt unfortunate ſtep that this queen ever made in all her life; by which ſhe diſobliged all her true friends, and furniſhed to her enemies, who had contrived all this plot, the means to ruin her.

MURRAY, after concerting meaſures with them, to avoid ſuſpicion of his having any hand

(*a*) Camden, *p.* 117.

in the conſpiracy, obtained leave from the queen to travel abroad, before it broke out; and to blind the queen and *Bothwel* the more, he left them truſtees in appearance, of all that belonged to him: but *Murray* was ſcarce paſt over from *England* to *France*, when behold, thoſe very men who had concurred to *Bothwel*'s acquital of the murther, and conſented by bonds under their hands to the marriage, take up arms, as if they had intended to apprehend *Bothwel*, but underhand adviſed him to be gone, for fear that if he had been taken he had diſcovered all the conſpiracy, and that at the ſame time, his flight might ſerve for a new argument to accuſe the queen: ſo letting *Bothwel* ſlip off, they carried the queen along with them; and after uſing the greateſt indignities towards her, ſhut her up cloſe priſoner in the caſtle of *Lochlevin*, under the cuſtody of *Murray*'s mother, who had the impudence to pretend that ſhe was lawful ſpouſe to king *James* V. and her ſon *Murray*, that king's lawful ſon. Thus far *Camden*.

(*a*) THE firſt ſtep of the conſpirators againſt the queen at her impriſonment, was to deny her the common juſtice allowed to the greateſt criminals of the loweſt rank; for when ſhe ſaw that, againſt the aſſurance they had given her, they

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(*a*) Queen *Mary*'s letter to queen *Elizabeth*, of *May* 17, 1568.

were reſolved to ſend her priſoner to *Lochlevin:* ſhe earneſtly intreated to be heard in her own defence in their council; this they abſolutely refuſed, and hurried her away in the night-time in a beggarly habit to *Lochlevin:* but the reaſon of their refuſing her this common juſtice is plain: they knew that if ſhe had been permitted to appear in their council, ſhe could have reproached all of them that ſat there to their faces; the concurrence of ſome, and the connivance of all of them to the acquital of *Bothwel* and his marriage with her, which now were made her greateſt crimes.

THE queen being thus made cloſe priſoner, and no perſon whatſoever being ſuffer'd to ſee, ſpeak, or write to her, but her jaylors, and thoſe of the faction: by this the government being unhinged, the conſpirators remaining maſters, in order to have a title to diſpoſe of all at their pleaſure, erected themſelves into a ſecret, or privy-council: but being conſcious to themſelves, that by laying violent hands on their ſoveraign, they were guilty of the crime of treaſon in the higheſt degree, and by that had forfeited their lives and fortunes; it was of the laſt importance for them to fix guilt upon the queen at any rate, and have her thought worthy of deprivation, or even of death.

THEY had been obliged to go haſtily to work, and not to let eſcape the opportunity of the queen's coming over to them, and voluntarily putting herſelf into their hands, on their ſolemn promiſes of ſerving and honouring her according to her dignity; when once they had gotten her, it was of importance to make haſte to ſecure her: all promiſes were forgot, and by this violence they had begun to treat her as the meaneſt criminal, even before they found out any ground of accuſation; for, according to themſelves, the famous box was not diſcovered till five days after they had made her cloſe priſoner. This was crime upon crime, and put them to a ſad pinch: now what to do to render the queen guilty; for after the length they were gone, guilty ſhe muſt be, elſe they were loſt men, and would have been condemned by all mankind. *Morton* was a man of expedients: he produces a box, with letters, pretended to be the queen's, with her firſt husband king *Francis*'s cypher on it. That was an eaſy matter. By this time, *Morton* and the reſt were maſters of the queen's palace, and of all her cloſets, cabinets and boxes; they might pick and chuſe. *Morton* ſaid it was found on *Dagleiſh*, who was carrying it to *Bothwel*; but there's not one word of that in *Dagleiſh*'s confeſſion, even ſuch as they extorted from him by torture; (*a*) and *at the time of his execution, he took it upon his death, as he ſhould anſwer before God, that he never carried any ſuch letters, nor that the quene was participant, or of counſal in the cauſe.* But the

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(*a*) Biſhop *Leſlie*'s defence of queen *Mary*, fol. 11.

letters and ſonnets in the box, contained proofs that the queen had knowledge of *Bothwel*'s criminal deſign againſt her huſband; and theſe were written with the queen's own hand. So both *Morton* and *Murray* ſwore; but they had both ſworn oaths of allegiance and fidelity to their ſoveraign, to maintain with their blood her honour, her royal dignity, and her life; and they made this new oath with a formed deſign to ruin and deſtroy all three. Which of the two ſhall we believe? The firſt was free and voluntary; the ſecond was forced; for after the length they had gone, without that they ſwore the letters to be the queen's, they were loſt men. And was there any impartial judge that ever declared they were the queen's hand? I ſay impartial, and that had no intereſt to have them believed to be her's. And were there not then perſons alive that had counterfeited the queen's hand? It was known there were.

BUT it was enough for the reſt of the conſpirators, that it reſembled her hand, they were too deeply concerned to doubt of it. Declamations from the pulpit, ballads for the mobb, telling and writing, far and near, the tragical contents, with a wonder and horror, and feigned regret would ſupply the reſt, till all the ends of the conſpiracy were compaſſed, a demiſſion extorted from the queen, her ſon crowned, and *Murray* regent; and then who durſt ſay the contrary? To help it on,

M. *Knox*, and his aſſociates, ſerved them marvelloufly by their invectives from the pulpit, to enflame the mobb againſt her, and by wreſted texts of the Old Teſtament, exhorted them to put the queen to death. Sir *Nicolas Throgmorton*, queen *Elizabeth*'s ambaſſador, tells her, he was preſent at one of theſe preachings, and ſo ſcandalized, that he complained publickly of it to theſe lords; but they were far from putting any ſtop to the declamations of men that ſerved them to ſo good purpoſe, towards the juſtification of their enterprize, and of their impriſoning the queen.

SIR *Nicolas Throgmorton* (*a*) had been ſent down by queen *Elizabeth*, who deteſting their barbarous inſolence (whom ſhe often (*b*) called traytors, rebels, ungrateful and cruel men) againſt a princeſs her ſiſter and neighbour, ſent him into *Scotland* to expoſtulate with them for their inſolence, and to take ſome courſe how to reſtore the queen to her former liberty, and for the ſevere puniſhment of the murderers of the king. *Camden* gives an account of Sir *Nicolas*'s negotiations from his own letters, whereof he gives the ſubſtance, which I need not repeat. I ſhall only take notice, that the conſpirators were divided among themſelves what to do with the queen; and that ſome of them were for making her proceſs, and de-

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(*a*) Camden, p. 118.

(*b*) Perfidos, rebelles, ingratos, & crudeles ſubinde appellabat. *Camden*, p. 117.

depriving her both of her life and of her crown, by a publick execution: and this, ſays *Camden*, (*a*) *Knox*, and ſome other miniſters of the word, thundered out of the pulpit.

Sir *Nicolas* argued very pertinently againſt theſe illegal and barbarous deſigns. (I relate his own words, taken from one of his original letters to queen *Elizabeth*, which I have ſeen.) (*b*) *I ſaid* [*to them*] *there was no ordinary magiſtrates, no competent judge or judges, no ſufficient aſſembly nor tribunal, before whom their queen and ſoveraign ſhould have her proceſs maid, and her cauſe adjudged. For there was no ordinary juſtice, but they had their authority derived from the authority of the queen; and it was not to be thought, ſhe would give commiſſion againſt herſelf; and to abuſe the grete ſele to make any commiſſion, to borrow her name without her conſent and warrant, to make any proces, and abuſe her title, was inſufficient, and hye treaſon.*

I was anſwered, ſays Sir *Nicolas*, *in extraordinary enormities and monſtrous doings, there have been, and muſt be extraordinary proceedings. It was ſaid, the ſtates of the realme, and people aſſembled, might in the cace be competent judges, whereof they had in their own countrie ſundrie experiences in criminal*

(*a*) Et hoc Knoxius & aliqui miniſtri intonarunt. *Camb. vit Eliz.* p. 118.

(*b*) Sir *Nic. Throgmorton*'s letter of the 19th of *July*, 1567. *Cot. Libr. Cal.* C. I. fol. 18.

maters committed by princes; *and there was recyted unto me ſundrie examples forthe of their own hiſtories.* This is the firſt time that examples are brought from the *Scotiſh* hiſtory, of the ſubjects proceeding criminally againſt our kings. If any ſuch had been in king *James* III.'s time, they had not failed, as we (*a*) obſerved on that occaſion, to alledge them; and their not doing it on ſuch a preſſing occaſion; when all the world, within and without the kingdom, cried out againſt them, was a proof that there were not as yet any ſuch examples in being. But now, in queen *Mary*'s time, they had the precedent of the act *of the propoſition of the field of Striveling*, and many other inſtances in *Boece*'s hiſtory; and it was, no doubt, to thoſe that they refer, in arguing with the ambaſſador. Mean time, it was not in his power, nor in that of the *French* ambaſſador, with all the authority of their princes, to obtain from the faction leave to ſee, or to ſpeak with the queen.

THE conſpirators, by their keeping the queen ſo cloſe a priſoner, had the means to blacken her reputation every where at home and abroad, without controul: to that purpoſe ſerved not only the violent declamations of *Knox*, and his partiſans, but ballads full of bitter invectives ſpread up and down the country, to poiſon and alienate the peoples affections from her. With the ſame view

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(*a*) Supra, *p.* 283.

the faction wrote, and ſpread into all countries where they had correſpondence, particularly in *England* and *France*, the moſt infamous calumnies that their malice could invent; and all this with ſo much the greater impudence, that they were ſure not be contradicted, by keeping the queen in ſo cloſe confinement, without permitting her ſo much as to ſee or have any correſpondence, either within or without the kingdom, they put it out of her power to juſtify herſelf, or contradict whatſoever calumnies they publiſhed againſt her.

AND this cloſe confinement continuing near a whole year, and during all that time the calumnies ſpread abroad by her enemies againſt her, having free courſe without being contradicted, it is no wonder that they left deep impreſſions againſt her reputation; which not only encouraged her enemies to affirm and ſpread them with greater aſſurance, but ſtumbled even ſome well-meaning people. For the *Matchiavelian* maxim, (*a*) *calumniate ſtoutly, ſomething will always ſtick*, was never more fully verified, than in this injured princeſs, eſpecially during her cloſe confinement.

IT was from this ſource that all the doubts, contradictory accounts, and diſputes, which continue to this very day, about her innocence or guilt, did chiefly ariſe, according as people are or

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(*a*) Calumniare fortiter ſemper aliquid adhærebit.

were differently affected towards her, her family, and the religion ſhe profeſſed; for after ſo deeply rooted impreſſions to her prejudice, by ſuch a torrent of calumnies that had flowed with a full courſe, and without any obſtacle, during the eleven months of her cloſe confinement; the defences and juſtifications publiſhed afterwards, however full, came too late to extinguiſh all the impreſſions, without leaving ſome in doubt of her innocence. So it is no wonder that, when after her eſcape from *Lochleven* ſhe came into *England*, ſhe found queen *Elizabeth*, and many of her council, prejudiced againſt her. All mouths having been ſo long open againſt her, and her own, and thoſe of all her friends, ſhut by the terror of *Murray* and his faction.

But however theſe bad impreſſions continued ſometime in *France*, not only among the *French* proteſtants, who kept correſpondence with *Murray*, *Knox*, and the faction in *Scotland*, but even among ſome *Roman* catholicks, out of an averſion to the houſe of *Guiſe*; and in *England* by reaſons of ſtate: for it being thought neceſſary, for the ſecurity of queen *Elizabeth*'s government, to keep queen *Mary* in priſon, the entertaining the ſuſpicion of her guilt ſerved for a pretence to it.

It was not ſo in *Scotland*, where the queen's character and whole conduct, during all the courſe of her reign whilſt at liberty, and all that had paſt, concerning the murther of the king, and her marriage with *Bothwel*; as well as the character and behaviour of the conſpirators, were beſt known: for notwithſtanding all the declamations *Knox*, and his aſſociates; notwithſtanding the forged letters and ſonnets of *Morton*'s box, and all the other malicious arts employed to defame her; notwithſtanding alſo all the violence and cruelty, with which *Murray* made uſe of the royal authority, which he had uſurped, to ruin all that declared for the queen. All theſe, and the other malicious calumnies of her enemies, were ſo far from gaining credit, that as ſoon as the queen got out of her confinement, the generality of all the nobility and gentry all over the kingdom, that were not of the conſpirators, declared openly for the queen; and by their bonds and aſſociations, both in the ſouth and in the north, engaged themſelves one to another, and by their letters to foreign princes, to venture their lives and fortunes in her defence, and towards reſtoring her to the exerciſe of her royal authority.

THERE is in the *Cotton* (*a*) library, a copy of a bond made at *Glaſgow* the 8th of *May*, 1568, to this purpoſe, ſigned by nine earls, nine biſhops, eighteen temporal lords, twelve abbots and priors, and above fourſcore great barons. There is extant an original letter (*b*), ſigned by many earls,

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(*a*) Caligula, C. I. fol. 62.
(*b*) In Col. Scot. Pariſ.

lords and barons, addreſſed to the king of *France*, about the ſame time. There are two other original letters to queen *Elizabeth*, of the (*a*) 28th of *July*, and (*b*) 24th of *Auguſt*, in the ſame *Cotton* library, ſigned by a number of the nobility, declaring their reſolution to ſtand by their ſoveraign, and to hazard their lives and fortunes in her cauſe; intreating queen *Elizabeth* herſelf either to reſtore her, or at leaſt leave her at freedom to come to them. The ſame general diſpoſition of *Scotland*, in favour of the queen, appears by a letter of the lord *Hereis* to queen *Elizabeth*, at whoſe deſire queen *Mary* had ſent that lord to *Scotland*, to hinder the civil war, and the ſhedding of blood, queen *Elizabeth* giving hopes that ſhe herſelf would reſtore queen *Mary*. The letter (*c*) is of the 19th of *Auguſt* 1568, and begins thus: Madam, *At my return to this countrie*, [Scotland] *I fand the greateſt part of this realme ſo inflamed againſt the earls of* Murray *and* Morton, *with ſome others of their adherents, for their proud treaſon and contemption againſt our native ſoveraine, they had appointed an day to cauſe them repent thair miſdoeings, and acknowledge their obedience, or at leaſt therin to do thair power; and for that your G. had declared your mind to my ſimpleneſs, was to putt my miſtreſs in her own countrie and authoritie without blood-ſhed*, &c.

(*a*) Caligula, C. I. f. 136

(*b*) Ibid. f. 156.

(*c*) Cot. Libr. Calig. B. IX. f. 267.

By all theſe letters and bonds, made by ſo many of the greateſt of the kingdom, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, it is eaſy to judge what account ought to be made of a bond called the ſecond bond, printed by ſir *James Dalrymple* from an original in the college of *Glaſgow*; to which *Murray* procured a number of ſubſcriptions, to acknowledge his authority under the name of the infant prince, in his circuit courts, from the month of *July*, till his parliament in *December* 1567, for the moſt part extorted (*a*) by the terrour of being treated as rebels; and this during the queen's cloſe impriſonment.

But I find the indignity with which thoſe good ſubjects uſed their ſoveraign, hath more than once inſenſibly carried me out of my road: I muſt now return to *Buchanan*.

Whilst the queen was in proſperity, and in poſſeſſion of the throne, *Buchanan* continued to make his court by epigrams addreſſed to her majeſty; ſome of which ſtill remain (*b*): and among others, that of the 17th of *December* 1566, on occaſion of the baptiſm of the prince her ſon; of which we ſhall have occaſion again to ſpeak more at large. The queen alſo, on her ſide, continued to heap new favours on *Buchanan*, whereof one of the lateſt was the principalſhip of the college

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(*a*) V. p. 63, 59, 92, 98, nov. edit. A. D. 1715.

(*b*) *Crawford's* Memoirs of *Scotland*, A. D. 1706. *p.* 57, 58.

of St. *Leonard*'s in St. *Andrew*'s: but how ſoon the queen was ſtript of all, ſhut up in cloſe priſon, and deprived of all power of beſtowing any favour, and that his patron *Murray* was coming to be at the head of affairs, *Buchanan* turned about with the tide, and not only became her enemy, but ſignalized himſelf againſt her. The firſt occaſion that we find him declare againſt her is very remarkable, and no doubt ſerved as much as any thing to fix him in that party.

THE general aſſembly (*a*) of the kirk met at *Edinburgh* the 25th of *June* 1567, ten days after the queen's impriſonment, a time of triumph for them; and M. *George Buchanan*, though a meer layman, was choſen moderator or preſident of this aſſembly, which, in their account, was the firſt free aſſembly they had held; for as long as the queen was on the throne, or indeed any form of government ſubſiſted, it was ſtill ſome check on them who pretended, in their eccleſiaſtical affairs, to depend upon no power upon earth; and therefore, as king *James* VI. (*b*) ſays of them, they looked upon all kings and princes as enemies to the liberty of the kirk: and now they had their will and full liberty, the government was unhinged; for as to the lords that had conſpired a-

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(*a*) V. the acts of the general aſſemblies belonging to ***Archibald Campbel***, Eſq;

(*b*) Omnes reges & principes eccleſiæ libertati eſſe inimicos [***prædicabant.***] ***Jac.*** R. VI. ***Baſilic. down to*** p. 148.

gainſt the queen; and intruded themſelves into the adminiſtration under the precarious title of lords of the ſecret or privy council, which they had aſſumed to themſelves in the interim, till they had compleated the whole deſign of the conſpiracy, by ſetting up a new form of government; as to theſe lords, they depended more upon the aſſembly, by the influence that *Knox* and his party had over the zealots and the mobb, than the aſſembly did on them: and accordingly they came and joined it.

By the queen's cloſe impriſonment, ſhe was, *de facto*, diveſted of all exerciſe of the regal power. This aſſembly, with *Buchanan* at their head, ſeem to have aſſumed it in the interval: at leaſt, they acted as if it had been devolved upon them. It had never been heard of hitherto in *Scotland*, that any, except the ſoveraign, could ſend out their writs to all the nobility and gentry, *&c.* of the kingdom, *requiring* them to convene on a preciſe day and place, *with certification* of the higheſt puniſhment they could inflict againſt the refractory. On the contrary, this ſeditious courſe ſtood prohibited, under pain of high treaſon, by many acts of parliament of *Scotland*.

This is nevertheleſs what this aſſembly, with their preſident *Buchanan*, did not heſitate to do, by directing their writs, (they called them *Miſſives*) with choſen deputies, not barely to miniſters, but *nominatim* to all earls, lords, barons, and gentlemen, of whatever degree, *&c. requiring them* (that is their term) to convene at *Edinburgh* againſt the 20th of *July* next, *with certification* that all thoſe that refuſed to obey, ſhould be reputed hinderers of the *godly purpoſe* in hand, and unworthy to be eſteemed of Chriſt's flock; *ſeeing*, add they, *God has begun to throw down Sathan under foot.* The meaning of this laſt expreſſion was eaſily underſtood in that juncture.

THE Godly purpoſe in hand, pretended to be the end of this new kind of aſſembly, was to eſtabliſh the kirk on a ſurer foundation, to root out every where all remains of what they called idolatry, and to ſettle the miniſters, ſtipends, *&c.* but in reality, as it appeared by the event, the chief work was that the queen might be either taken away or depoſed, if ſhe ſhould refuſe to make a dimiſſion of the crown, and a new king was to *be created*; which is *Buchanan*'s expreſſion at the acceſſion of our kings to the crown, however due to them by hereditary right: but the expreſſion was exactly true, in the putting the crown on the head of the infant-prince, who had no right to it as long as the queen his mother, from whom alone all his title was derived to it, was alive: but his coronation was only to ſerve for a vehicle to convey the royal authority to *Murray*, and the reſt of the conſpirators, which was the ſcope they levelled at from the beginning.

BUT what a conſpicuous figure M. *George Buchanan* makes here, to be all on a ſudden tranſplanted from the mean ſtation of a grammarian, a poet, or at beſt the principal of a college, to be at the head of an aſſembly that acted ſo ſoveraign a part; and the depoſing the queen, and inveſting his patron *Murray* with her royal authority, being the conſequence of the writs iſſued out from this aſſembly; it is not to be wondered at, that M. *George Buchanan*, now changed into a new man, ſhould take upon him, in his libel *de jure regni*, &c. to dictate to kings the rules by which they were to govern, under pain of being purſued by their ſubjects, obliged to anſwer before their tribunal, depoſed, *&c.* and that we ſhall find him henceforth employing all his eloquence to juſtify the depoſition of his ſoveraign, and to ſupport his patron in the poſſeſſion and exerciſe of the royal authority.

THE new aſſembly convocated by the writs iſſued out from the aforeſaid aſſembly in which *Buchanan* preſided, met accordingly the 20th of *July*; and one of their firſt buſineſſes was the deputing the lord *Lindſay* to *Lochleven*, where, by terrour of death, he extorted from the queen a demiſſion of the crown in favour of her ſon, and a commiſſion of regency to *Murray*; the infant prince was crowned; and *Murray*, by concert, coming home very ſoon after, took poſſeſſion of the royal authority: and thus all the ends of the conſpiracy were obtained.

In the month of *December* following a parliament was holden by *Murray*, in which, among other acts, he and his party, who were entire maſters in that aſſembly, not content to inſert and approve the aforeſaid acts of the queen's demiſſion, and commiſſion of regency, *&c.* as if they had been voluntary acts; but fearing leſt the queen might eſcape, and not doubting, but in that caſe ſhe would declare theſe acts extorted by force and null: therefore, to ſecure, as much as they were able, their lives and fortunes, and to give a ſhew or appearance of juſtice to their conſpiracy, and impriſoning of their ſoveraign, in order to appeaſe the publick clamour that was raiſed againſt them, both within the kingdom and without it; they made an act entituled, *Anent the retention of our ſoveraign lord's mother's perſon*, in imitation of, and copied after the act, *Of the propoſition of the debate of the field of Striveling*, againſt the memory of king *James* III. of which we have elſewhere treated: and as the cauſe and proceeding in both theſe caſes were much of the ſame nature, and both the acts equally againſt all the natural, as well as poſitive laws, ſo the eſſential terms of both acts are much the ſame. Thus, as the authors of that againſt king *James* III. make the ſon condemn the father and his perverſe counſel, (ſo they call the loyal party that adhered to him) and declared and concluded, that the ſlaughter committed in the field of *Striveling*, where the king and diverſe others of his barons happened to be ſlain, was all utterly *in their default*, &c. and themſelves *free, quite, and innocent of all :* ſo in the act againſt the queen, the conſpirators make the ſon, an infant of a year old, find and declare, together with them, his mother guilty of the murther of his father ; and that the impriſonment of her perſon, and all the violences done, or that might be done afterwards to her, were in *her awin default*, and themſelves (the conſpirators) *free, quite, and innocent of the ſame.* And all the proof of the queen's guilt, that they alledge in their act, is chiefly her marriage with *Bothwel*, whereof the principals of themſelves were the promoters, and the letters, ſonets, *&c.* found in *Morton*'s box, though they had never as yet been verified to be the queen's hand, by any impartial judges ; unleſs they themſelves, whoſe lives and fortunes lay at ſtake, (if they did not prove the queen's guilt, and by conſequence affirm theſe letters and papers to be the queen's) could be eſteemed impartial judges : not to ſpeak of the open hatred and violence with which they were actually then tyrannizing over the afflicted princeſs ; among other injuſtices, (*a*) refuſing to hear her, either in perſon, or to ſuffer any advocate to plead for her, forcing the reſt of the aſſembly to comply with them.

(*a*) Let. of queen *Mary* to queen *Elizabeth*, May 17, 1568.

(*a*) SOON after, *Murray* put to death *John Hepburn*, *Paris* a *Frenchman*, *Dagleiſh*, and the other ſervants of *Bothwel*, who had been preſent at the king's death: but they (which *Murray* little expected) at the gallows, proteſted before God and the angels, that they underſtood by *Bothwel*, that *Murray* and *Morton* were the authors of killing the king, and cleared the queen from all ſuſpicion. Queen *Mary*'s commiſſioners, in their memorial (*b*) given in the 1ſt of *December* 1568, at the conference of *Weſtminſter*, affirm, that this declaration of thoſe criminals at their death, *was manifeſt to ten thouſand*; that is, to all the multitude preſent at their execution: and *Bothwel* himſelf, priſoner in *Denmark*, all his life-time, and at his death, did, with many ſolemn oaths and religious proteſtations, affirm, that the queen was not privy nor conſenting to it; and *Morton* at his death acknowledged, that *Bothwel* had told him that the deed [*meaning the king's murther*] muſt be done without the queen's knowledge.

IN *May* following, the captive queen eſcaped out of priſon, from *Lochlevin*, by the means of *George Douglas*, whoſe brother was her keeper, and got ſafe unto the caſtle of *Hamilton*; where her reſignation was declared null, being extorted

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(*a*) Camden, p. 121.
(*b*) Cot. Libr. Calig. c. 1. fol. 234.
(*c*) Camden, ibid.

by fear: but the forces that reſorted to her being defeated, ſhe fled towards the borders, and truſting to the aſſurances given her by queen *Elizabeth*, againſt the advice of her friends, ſhe paſſed over into *England*, where, inſtead of the aſſiſtance ſhe had reaſon to expect, ſhe ſoon found a new captivity. Queen *Elizabeth* being perſuaded by ſome of her miniſters, that her ſecurity, and that of her government, in a great meaſure depended upon detaining this afflicted princeſs: and in order to have a pretence for it, which might ſerve for an excuſe or anſwer to the ſolicitations of other foreign princes in queen *Mary*'s behalf, *Murray* and his aſſociates were called up to *England*, under colour of anſwering for their proceedings againſt their ſoveraign; but in reality, as it appeared by the event, to give them a fair occaſion, which they wanted, to produce and render publick the papers of *Morton*'s box, and the other accuſations they had invented againſt their ſoveraign, by which means her reputation might be blackened among the *Engliſh*, among whom ſhe was believed to have too many favourers of all ranks; and at the ſame time the court of *England* might have a ſpecious pretence, neither to concur to her reſtoration, nor to leave her at liberty to depart the kingdom.

THIS politick deſign had its deſired effect, for the biſhop of *Roſs*, and the other commiſſioners of queen *Mary*, (after making a ſolemn proteſtation for the independency of the imperial crown of *Scotland*, whilſt *Murray* and his partners, who pretended to be the ſole repreſentatives of that kingdom, by their cowardly ſilence, ſeemed to make a baſe ſurrender of its rights) having in their reply demonſtrated the illegality and inhumanity of the proceedings of theſe rebels againſt their ſoveraign, which was all that could in juſtice be required for their condemnation, and to obtain from the court of *England* the ſupport which queen *Mary* had ground to expect, towards her reſtoration; inſtead of that, the new *Engliſh* commiſſioners being previouſly informed of the papers of the box, and other accuſations brought againſt the queen, ſummoned *Murray* to produce them; which he, after aſſurance of protection for himſelf and his party, with a feigned reluctancy, not only exhibited, but having deſignedly brought *Buchanan* along with him, employed his virulent pen to write in a fine *Latin* ſtyle, addreſſed to queen *Elizabeth* and her council, that infamous libel known by the name of *Detection*, to render theſe forged papers more probable.

AND queen *Mary*, however earneſtly ſhe preſſed to have the liberty to come in perſon, and in the preſence of queen *Elizabeth* herſelf, and of the ambaſſadors that repreſented the foreign princes, ſpeak for herſelf in an audience ſuitable to her dignity, offering to demonſtrate the falſhood of their accuſations, and prove that her adverſaries were guilty of theſe very crimes which they laid to her charge; that was refuſed her, as it had been in *Scotland* on two ſolemn occaſions, by her own rebellious ſubjects, as we have obſerved, firſt, when ſhe was impriſoned in *Lochlevin*; and again, when they proceeded in *Murray*'s parliament to depoſe her: on both which occaſions ſhe was ſentenced by her own ſubjects to impriſonment, and to loſe her crown, without being heard in her defence, though ſhe earneſtly and inſtantly ſolicited to be heard. As to the detail of theſe conferences, I ſhall refer my reader to queen *Elizabeth*'s own hiſtorian, *Camden*; who living about the time, not only peruſed the original pieces, and other writings in the paper office, in the *Cotton* library, and elſewhere, but had the advantage that no modern writer can pretend to, to converſe on the whole with thoſe that were in the ſecret, and at the bottom of the affairs of theſe times: and he being univerſally known for a man of penetration, of equity and candour, appears to me more to be depended on for the truth of facts, than any of thoſe who have hitherto, or may hereafter write the hiſtory of queen *Mary*: ſo I return to *Buchanan*.

(*a*) *CAMDEN* informs us, that his libel, intitled, *The Detection*, was *of ſmall credit with the*

(*a*) Buchanani libellus (cui) titulus *Detectio*— parum fidei apud majorem partem cognitorum invenit, ut hominis partiarii & fide promercali. *Camden vit. Eliz. p.* 144.

greater part of the Engliſh *commiſſioners*, Buchanan *being a man devoted to* Murray's *party, and won by money to write.*

TO this I ſhall add one inſtance, by which we may judge of the reſt of that infamous libel, and of the credit that *Buchanan* deſerves in his virulent declamations againſt his ſoveraign and benefactrix, both in this libel and in his hiſtory: and I think it may very well be doubted of, whether he himſelf believed the calumnies that he advanced againſt her, as it will appear by the following example.

(*a*) *BUCHANAN* in his *Detection* employs betwixt three and four pages in the new edition in *folio*, in deſcribing the queen's lewdneſs with *Bothwel*, and male-treating her husband from the birth of the prince, 19 *June* 1566, till his ſolemn baptiſm, *December* 17. And in a diary (to be found in (*b*) the *Cotton* library) drawn up for ſecretary *Cecil*'s uſe by *Buchanan* himſelf, or ſome other of *Murray*'s creatures, containing a ſummary of the *Detection*, in which, to render the crimes with which they accuſe the queen more credible, the places, occaſions, times, *&c.* are marked: and in particular *July* 20, at *Alloway*; *Auguſt* 13, at *Megitland*; *September* 24, *October* 8, *November* 5,

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(*a*) Buchanani Detectio, *p.* 1, 2, 3, 4. *Tom.* 1. *edit. Freebairn* A.D. 1715.

(*b*) Caligula B. IX. *fol.* 247.

December 3; and ſo on at different places, all named and ſet down till 17 *December*, the day of the ſolemnity of the baptiſm: ſo that by that time the queen (according to the *Detection*) was, in the eye of the publick, reputed a monſter of all kind of wickedneſs: and particularly at this ſolemnity he brings in the queen, ſparing no expenſe; nay, employing her own hands to fit out *Bothwel* as a beau, whilſt the king her husband had not decent cloaths to put on, or appear in publick: all this *Buchanan* tells, with the greateſt airs of confidence, two years after to queen *Elizabeth*, her commiſſioners and counſellors, as things notorious; that he and all the publick knew, and were witneſſes to at the time.

YET all this was falſe, and *Buchanan* knew it to be falſe; and that the queen at that very time of the ſolemn baptiſm of the prince, was far from having led a ſcandalous life, or being reputed in the eye of the publick a monſter of wickedneſs, as the *Detection* ſays ſhe was: it was juſt the reverſe in *Buchanan*'s own judgment, and in that of the publick; *The luſtre of the queen's virtue was then ſo bright, that it attracted to her the hearts of all thoſe whoſe breaſts were influenced with virtue:* and he adds, that then and there ſhe was happier than her happy anceſtors; that is, ſhe ſurpaſſed them, not only in ſenſe and beauty, but in *virtue*.

THE ceremony was very ſolemn, and the aſſembly numerous, conſiſting not only of all the beſt and greateſt of the *Scotiſh* nobility and gentry; but there were preſent the ambaſſadors of the king of *France*, and of the queen of *England*, each of them with a numerous retinue of gentlemen of their nation: and it was amidſt this aſſembly that *M. George Buchanan*, the moſt famous poet of the age, to grace the ſolemnity, preſented an epigram to the queen, and to the young prince, and puts the addreſs, (as is uſual with poets) in the mouths of the rural deities.

THUS he makes the *Mermaids* addreſs the queen, (*a*) *As the needle inforced by the touch of the magneſian ſtone, veers its eager point to the northern pole:*

(*a*) *Pompæ Deorum ruſticorum dona ferentium (b) Jacobo* VI. *& Mariæ matri ejus Scotorum regibus, in cœna quæ regis baptiſma eſt conſecuta.*

Nereides Reginæ matri
Vis dura ferri marmoris
Magneſii contagio
Imbuta vertit algidam
Ad arcton acrem cuſpidam.
Cuicunque virtus imbuit

(*b*) It appears by this title of king *James* VI. and that of *Queen-mother*, that this piece hath been reviſed by *Buchanan* after the queen's impriſonment, and the coronation of the prince.

Potenti

pole: ſo whoever's breaſt is influenced with virtue, whatever climate he inhabits, thee he points at. 'Tis this hidden power that hath attracted us hither from the Indian *ſhore, more forcibly than the iron is by the loadſtone: that we may have the pleaſure of admiring*

Potenti vi præcordia,
Te ſpectat unam, cardini
Cuicunque cœli ſubjacet:
Arcana vis hæc Indico
Nos traxit huc a littore,
Ut non trahat potentius
Ferrum ſilex Heraclea.
Virtutis ut propius tuæ
Claro fruamur lumine,
Et patriis munuſculis
Teſtemur obſervantiam.

Fauni Reginæ.

Virtute, ingenio, Regina, & munere formæ
Fælicibus fælicior majoribus,
Conjugii fructu ſed fœliciſſima, cujus
Legati honorant exteri cunabula:
Ruſtica (*c*) quam donis reverentur numina, ſylvis
Satyri relictis, Najadeſque fontibus,
Faunos in melius properantis pignora ſæcli
Reſponſa ferre cœlitum Rex hæc jubet:
Omnis in hunc rerum conſenſu machina regem
Non ſorte lectum, aut lege, ſed fato datum;
Non aliter quam natura novere magiſtra,
Monſtrante nullo, apiculæ ſuum ducem.

Buchanani Epigram. *lib.* 3. *pag.* 98. *Edit. Freebairn, A. D.* 1715.

(*c*) Quem *edit.* 1715.

ring a-near the luſtre of thy virtues, and with ſuch ſmall preſents as our country affords, teſtify to thee our moſt humble reſpect and homage.

THE *Sylvan* Gods to the queen.

IN virtue, ſenſe, and beauty, happier than thy happy anceſtors; but moſt happy in the fruit of thy marriage, whoſe birth foreign ambaſſadors congratulate; whom the rural deities compliment with preſents; the ſatyrs forſaking their woods, the nymphs their fountains, the Sylvan *Gods commanded by their king, carry this heavenly meſſage as a pledge of happier ſucceeding ages haſtening to mankind: to create this king, the immenſe univerſe has combined; nor chances, nor law, have any hand in it; fate hath decreed it. Juſt ſo the little bees untaught, thorough the pure inſtinct of nature, know their leader.* Thus *Buchanan.*

NOW when *Buchanan* publickly preſented this epigram to the queen on ſo ſolemn occaſion, it was, no doubt, deſigned to be handed about among the *Scotiſh* and *Engliſh* nobility, and others preſent at the ſolemnity, as 'tis uſual on ſuch occaſions; and by conſequence *Buchanan* muſt have been not only perſuaded himſelf that the queen was at that time eſteemed a *model of virtue, capable to attract all well-diſpoſed hearts,* &c. but that the *Engliſh* and *Scotiſh* nobility preſent were equally perſuaded of the truth of what his epigram contained, otherwiſe

wiſe to make ſo publick an *Elogium* of the queen's virtue, had been to proſtitute his reputation, and make himſelf paſs for a ſycophant, which ſurely he was not likely to do.

I ask now which of the two extremes of the contradiction are we to truſt to? *Buchanan* in this epigram (on the 17th of *December*, 1566.) giving us the higheſt characters of the queen's virtue, and rendring ſuch a publick teſtimony to it in the preſence of ſuch an aſſembly, where the queen's character and behaviour was ſo well known: or the ſame *Buchanan* in his *Detection*; telling the queen of *England* and her council, that *at this very time* queen *Mary* was publickly known for a vicious monſter, and exſpatiating before them on the ſubject, with all the fluency of his virulent pen? for I ſpeak here only of that time, to wit, of the time of the baptiſm of the prince, the 17th of *December*, what ſhe was in the eye of the publick, and in *Buchanan*'s own at that time; for the papers found by *Morton* in his box contained nothing of theſe times.

THE only proper ſolution for this difficulty and contradiction, is to diſtinguiſh the times of the queen's proſperity and adverſity. When *Buchanan* preſented the epigram with ſuch high *Elogiums* of the queen's virtue, her majeſty was as yet on the throne, in the full exerciſe of her royal authority, miſtreſs of favours and rewards: but when *Buchanan* preſented the *Detection*, juſt two years afterwards, to queen *Elizabeth* and her council, or commiſſioners, queen *Mary* had been depoſed from her throne, deprived of all, a captive firſt in *Scotland*, and then in *England:* the exerciſe of her royal authority transferred to *Murray*, and he become the diſtributer of all favours and rewards; and with him no merit was equal to that of defaming queen *Mary*, that being the only means to have her continued in captivity, and himſelf in the exerciſe of her royal authority: accordingly *Buchanan* was recompenſed for his ſervice, with the honourable and advantagious poſts of (*a*) director of the chancery, and keeper of the privy-ſeal.

I ſhall add no more; but that this may ſerve in a great meaſure with impartial people, for a key to the reſt of *Buchanan*'s *Detection*, and his other declamations againſt queen *Mary*, which, if ſhe had continued on the throne, had not only never have been compoſed; but in all appearance the queen on the contrary might have had more incenſe preſented to her from the ſame hand. Since in that caſe *Morton*'s box with the letters would never have been heard of; and if the queen had come to be, as without doubt in proceſs of time ſhe would have been, informed and perſwaded of *Bothwel*'s crime, both he and his partners in it would have ſuffered the puniſhment due to it.

(*a*) Memoirs of *Scotland* by *Crawfield*, printed *A. D.* 1706. *Pref. pag.* 4.

BUT to return to *Murray*; though queen *Elizabeth* was well enough contented out of (*a*) an emulation ordinary to the ſex, that ſome blot or reproach, by theſe accuſations of *Murray*, was left, and remained upon her rival the queen of *Scotland*; yet ſhe was too jealous of the prerogative of the royal dignity, and of the reſpect due to ſoveraign princes, to have it thought that ſhe would countenance *Murray* and his party in their taking up arms, impriſoning their ſoveraign, and depriving her of her crown and dignity for whatever cauſe or crime. And this queen *Elizabeth* herſelf had let the *Scotiſh* conſpirators know, upon the firſt news ſhe received of their enterprize againſt their ſoveraign, by her ambaſſador Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, whom ſhe had ſent down in the month of *June*, 1567; and in her letter to him of (*b*) 27 *July* following to be imparted to them: ſhe argues powerfully for the ſoveraignty of princes, and againſt the illegality of the conſpirators proceedings: theſe are her words;

YOU ſhall let them (the conſpirators) *know, that if they ſhall determine any thing to the deprivation of the queen their ſoveraign lady of her royal eſtate, ye are well aſſurit of our own determination. And we have ſome juſt and probable cauſe to think*

(*a*) Camd. *p.* 145.

(*b*) Cotton. librar. Caligula, *c.* 1. *fol.* 26, 27, &c.

the like of other princes of chriſtendom: that we will make ourſelves a plain partie againſt them, to the revenge of their ſoveraign, for example to all poſterity: and therein we doubt not but God will aſſiſt us, and confound them and their devices, conſidering they have no warrant nor authority of the law of God or man to be as ſuperior judges, or vindicators over their prince and ſoveraign: howſoever they do gather, or conceive mater of deſorder againſt her: and therin we appeal them to recurr to their own conſciences, what warrant they have in ſcripture to depoſe their prince: but contrary, and that with expreſs words of St. Paul, *who to the* Romans *commanded them to obey*, poteſtatibus ſupereminentioribus gladium geſtantibus. *Although it is well known, that the rulers in* Rome *were infidels: or what law do they find written in any monarchy, when, how, and in what ſort ſubjects ſhall take and arreſt the perſon of their princes, commit and detain them in captivity; proceed againſt them by proceſs and judgement: as we are aſſured no ſuch order is to be found in the whole civil law. And if they have no warrant by ſcripture or civil law, and yet can find out for their purpoſe ſome examples, as we hear, by ſeditious ballets they put in print, they would pretend: we muſt juſtlie account thoſe examples to be unlawful, and acts of rebellion: and ſo if the ſtories be well made, the ſucceſſes will prove them.* [And thus after condemning their proceedings, and aſſuring them that ſhe would concurr towards the puniſhing *Bothwel*, and the preſervation of the prince, ſhe continues in theſe words] *But herein we diſſent from them, that we think it not lawful, nor tolerable for them, being by God's ordinance ſubjects, to call her, who alſo by God's ordinance is their ſuperior and prince, to anſwer to their accuſations by way of force: for we do not think it conſonant in nature, that the head ſhould be ſubject to the foot.* Thus queen *Elizabeth*, when queen *Mary* was impriſoned by her ſubjects in *Scotland*.

AND though reaſons of ſtate, and the perſuaſions of ſome of her chief counſellors engaged her, from the moment that queen *Mary* was under her own power, to change meaſures as to that diſtreſſed princeſs, and make uſe of the accuſations brought by her rebellious ſubjects againſt her, for a handle to continue her captive; yet *Murray* and his party knew very well, that queen *Elizabeth*'s ſentiments of the reſpect due to ſoveraigns, and of the unlawfulneſs of taking arms againſt them, and pretending to depoſe them, for whatever reaſon, were ſtill the ſame, it being a common cauſe of all ſoveraigns: ſo whatever face ſhe in the preſent juncture put upon their fact outwardly, they knew very well (*a*) ſhe hated and deteſted them, and all their doings in her heart.

THERE was therefore no other means left to *Murray* and his adherents to clear their cauſe from

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(*a*) Elizabetha Scotorum inſolentiam in abdicanda Regina ex animo, ut videbatur, averſata, *Camden*, *p.* 145.

this odium, but to endeavour to ſeparate the cauſe of the kings of *Scotland* from that of other kings, and to ſhew that the kings of *Scotland* were anſwerable to their ſubjects, and liable to be puniſhed or depoſed in caſe of male-adminiſtration, however it might be as to other kings.

It was then upon this occaſion, and in this juncture that *Buchanan*, either by *Murray*'s order, or of his own motion, as well to ſupport their common cauſe againſt the queen, as being otherwiſe prepoſſeſſed with the principles of a power in ſubjects to arraign and depoſe their kings, wrote his ſeditious dialogue, *De Jure Regni apud* Scotos, to endeavour to ſhew, that the kings of *Scotland* were accountable to their ſubjects for their actions and adminiſtration; and by conſequence, that queen *Mary* being, as he falſely ſuppoſed, guilty of crimes and male-adminiſtration, had been juſtly deprived of her royal authority by her ſubjects, to whom, according to the principles ſuppoſed in this libel, it belonged both to judge and puniſh their kings, when they found them guilty; and to diſpoſe of the crown to the next heir. That *Buchanan*'s dialogue, *De Jure Regni*, was penned upon this occaſion; and at this time, that is, towards the end of the conferences, or very ſoon after them, both the dialogue itſelf inſinuates, and original letters, ſtill remaining, make it evident: among others a letter from *M. John* (*a*) *Betoun*,

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(*a*) Memoirs of *Scotland*, in Col. Scot. Pariſ. Tom. IV.

one of queen *Mary*'s agents then at *London*, of the 11th of *March* 1569. Another (*a*) original letter of Mr. *Thomas Maitland*, brother to *Lethington*, written to queen *Mary December* 1. 1570; in which he proteſts to her majeſty, that his being brought interlocutor into that dialogue, to ſay whatever *Buchanan* thought proper for his purpoſe, was wholly *Buchanan*'s own invention; and that he, *Thomas Maitland*, had not the leaſt hand in it. And that it was written about *A. D.* 1569. (*b*) *Buchanan* himſelf informs us, where he tells us, that it was about 260 years after the coronation of king *Robert* I. which happened *A. D.* 1306.

HOWEVER copies of this dialogue were then handed about, to leſſen the odium of *Murray* and his accomplices proceedings, and to ſtop the publick clamour and indignation upon queen *Mary*'s forced abdication: but it ſeems the dialogue, after having ſerved that turn, was ſuppreſſed for a time by the author himſelf, and not printed, that I could meet with, till *A. D.* 1579. The reaſon why the printing of it was thus ten or eleven years delayed, is not hard to be gueſſed at: the ſpecious reaſons it contains, and the air of demonſtration with which the politick reaſonings and facts, whereupon it depends, are advanced, ſufficed to make it go down with thoſe in *England* or *Scotland*, who had intereſt, that the afflicted queen ſhould be

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(*a*) Ibidem.

(*b*) De jure regn. *p.* 26. *edit. Freebairn.*

oppreſſed; and conſidered it only as far as it concerned her perſonally, without weighing the conſequences of it to all crowned heads, and the publick tranquillity of kingdoms: but it was not yet in a condition to bear the teſt of the publick, and wanted its chief and neceſſary ſupports to make it go down in foreign countries, and with impartial men at home.

THE author, to prove the pretended right of the *Scots* to depoſe their kings, makes indeed uſe of politick reaſonings, drawn from republican ſchemes, with which his knowledge of the ancient *Greek* and *Latin* hiſtories furniſhed him, as well as the common doctrines of the leading miniſters of the *Geneva* plan of reformation: he endeavours alſo to pervert the texts of ſcripture, ſo expreſs for the duty of ſubjects to their ſoveraigns; for all which he hath been chaſtiſed by three of his learned (*a*) countrymen, and more ſuccinctly by Sir *George Mackenzie*; but the chief bottom upon which his dialogue is built, are the examples and precedents of *Scotiſh* kings, called to account by their ſubjects for their male-adminiſtration, and accordingly puniſhed by them with depoſition, impriſonment, or even with death; and for this the hiſtory of the *Scots* is appealed to: in which *Buchanan* tells us, that he could count above

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(*a*) Nin. Winzet. Adam Blawod. William Barclay.

(*a*) twelve of theſe kings, that is, a third part of the firſt forty kings, beſides others afterwards, who, for their crimes and wickedneſs, had been either condemned to perpetual priſon, or, by a voluntary exile, or laying hands on themſelves, had eſcaped the puniſhment due to their crimes. And (*b*) elſewhere he tells us, that of theſe kings ſome had been condemned to perpetual priſon, others to baniſhment, and others had been puniſhed even with death.

§. 3. *Of* Buchanan'*s hiſtory of the* Scots.

THE only hiſtory of the *Scots* in vogue, when the dialogue was written, was that of *H. Boece*, in which indeed both the principles of this doctrine are ſuppoſed and ſupported, as we have ſeen before, by many inſtances taken from *Veremund*, and ſuch other forged pieces. Now though *Boece*'s hiſtory was at that time generally received, eſpecially among thoſe who had little or no knowledge of the ſtate of *Britain* in ancient times, or who had been at no pains to examine the grounds of that hiſtory; yet *Boece*'s whole narration being all over ſtuffed with falſe or fabulous ſtories, as it hath been (*c*) already ſhewn, entirely contrary to

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(*a*) Poſſem enumerare duodecim, aut etiam amplius reges [*Scotiæ*] qui ob ſcelera & flagitia, aut in perpetuos carceres ſunt damnati, aut exilio, vel morte voluntaria juſtas ſcelerum pœnas fugerunt. *Buch. de Jure Regn. pag.* 32. *ed. Freeb.*

(*b*) —— quoſdam [*Regum Scotiæ*] perpetuis carceribus damnatos, alios partim exilio, partim morte multatos, *Ibid. p.* 26.

(*c*) Supra, *pag.* 249, &c.

all true hiſtory: this was capable to decry ſo abſolutely all its authority, in the judgment of all people converſant in ancient learning, whether ſtrangers or natives, that it became quite uſeleſs towards ſupporting *Buchanan*'s ſchemes of monarchy, with all the impartial, learned and poliſhed part of mankind: there was therefore a neceſſity of new moulding the hiſtory of the *Scots*, to render it proper for *Buchanan*'s purpoſe: and he himſelf, as well prompted by men of his principles, as fitted by his elegant *Latin* ſtyle, was prevailed on to ſet about it: he began to write it in or about the year 1570, and finiſhed it about the year 1579; by which it appears, that the printing the dialogue, *De Jure Regni*, already finiſhed and communicated to the *Engliſh* miniſtry and others, in the year 1569, was delayed till the year 1579: that the *Scotiſh* hiſtory was well near finiſhed to ſupport the dialogue.

A farther proof, that one of the chief motives of *Buchanan*, in writing the hiſtory of *Scotland*, was to eſtabliſh popular power on the ruin of monarchical authority is, that in writing this hiſtory he had it in his option, either to follow *John Fordun* and our ancient monaſtery books, which he in his own judgment looked upon, as we ſhall obſerve, as the ſureſt monuments we had of hiſtory; or to follow *Hector Boece*'s hiſtory, of which he himſelf made in reality little or no account, but only as it ſerved his deſign againſt monarchy. *Fordun*, and our ancient monaſtery books or records, contained all we had remaining of ancient hiſtory, and certainly could have furniſhed *Buchanan* with much greater helps to it, before the general diſaſter that came upon our MSS. hiſtories and records, about the time of the reformation, by the burning and deſtroying churches and monaſteries, than can be now expected: and 'tis evident enough, by the critical diſſertations contained in *Buchanan*'s firſt three books, that his own light and knowledge (if his prejudices had not byaſſed him) would have led him to have taken *Fordun*, and the ancient monuments of the *Roman* and *Britiſh* hiſtory for his guides, eſpecially in the times preceding *Fergus* the ſon of *Erc*; and by conſequence to have been as ſparing in the hiſtory of the firſt forty kings, as *Fordun* and the reſt of our chronicles had been, who after all their ſearches, do teſtify that they could find no full account of theſe kings.

BUT this method would have done no ſervice to the cauſe in which *Buchanan* was embarked; for there were none of theſe inſtances of the power of the *Scots* to call their kings to account, to be met with in *Fordun*, or any *Scotiſh* writer before king *James* IIId's reign, or even before *Boece*, who alone contained ſuch materials as were proper for his deſign: ſo *Buchanan*'s own judgment and knowledge of antiquity being over-ruled by his paſſions, he reſolved to follow *Boece* in his hiſtory of the forty kings, as being the only *Scotiſh* writer who could furniſh him with inſtances towards ſupporting his new ſchemes of government: the chief intent of *Buchanan*'s undertaking being, as we ſaid, to furniſh proofs to ſupport the principles he ſuppoſed in his libel, *De Jure Regni*, as our learned countryman *Gordon* of *Straloch* hath in few words well expreſſed *Buchanan*'s whole deſign (*a*). *Qui centonem Buchanani de Jure Regni & hiſtoriam ejus exactè conſideraverit, inveniet tractatum de Jure Regni Theſin propoſitam; hiſtoriam ſic detortam ut Theſi firmamentum habeatur.*

We have already ſhewn at length the forgery of the vouchers, on whoſe authority *Boece* hath given us the lives and actions of the firſt forty kings; and by the ſame reaſons, all that *Buchanan* hath written of them, being built on the ſame foundation, is overturned before-hand: but tho' both theſe writers have delivered much the ſame accounts of a pretended ancient cuſtom and right in the *Scots* to call their kings to account, and puniſh them for their bad conduct; yet there appears a great difference betwixt the two as to the views, intentions, and ſincerity with which they wrote, as well as to their ability and skill in ancient hiſtory and critical learning.

We have already obſerved, that the facility with which *Boece* received and followed all he

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(*a*) Biſhop *Nicolſon*'s Scot. Hiſt. librar *p.* 119.

found in his *Veremund*, and other forged authors, on whoſe authority he built his hiſtory of the firſt forty kings, ſhews indeed a prejudice and byaſs in him in favour of the power of the nobles and ſtates, to limit the royal authority: and we have ſhewn the different occaſions by which this notion got footing, and ripened in *Scotland*, eſpecially after the death of king *James* III. It was the intereſt of all thoſe that had a hand in the rebellion againſt that prince, or in the famous act made to juſtify it, to propagate the notion: ſo no wonder that *Boece* was tainted with it, finding it ſo conformable to the taſte of the times in which he lived, and to the practice of the moſt ancient times, according to his *Veremund*, and other forged vouchers; to which his ſimplicity, credulity, and want of critical learning made him give credit, and look upon them as genuine copies of monuments of antiquity: but, beſides that *Boece* was never embarked himſelf in any party againſt the government, or right of the monarch then in poſſeſſion, and ſo had no private intereſt to ſupport againſt monarchy: it does not appear, that in writing his hiſtory he had any deſign againſt the right of the kings; but that his chief intention was to exalt the glory of his country, by aſcribing to it ſo many heroick atchievements, in ages, when other northern nations made no great figure, or lay in obſcurity. And he (*a*) tells us alſo himſelf, that one

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(*a*) Boet. præf.

of his motives was to encourage our kings to virtue by the examples of good princes, and deter them from vice by the puniſhment of wicked ones.

But as for *Buchanan*, the caſe was very different. He had heartily eſpouſed the party of rebels uſurping the royal authority, under the name of an infant, againſt their ſoveraign: he had been one of the chief inſtruments within his ſphere, by his virulent pen, to make uſurpation ſucceſsful and laſting: and that ſucceſs depending very much on ſtrengthning the principles of the depoſing power; it was highly his intereſt, as well as inclination, to exert all his eloquence on that undertaking. On the other hand, he was certainly one of the moſt learned criticks of his time, and a ſevere one too, when it was to his purpoſe: ſo that *Buchanan* followed *Boece*'s hiſtory of the forty kings, not with a blind credulity, looking on it as well grounded, as *Boece* himſelf had followed his *Veremund*, but without believing himſelf the truth of the hiſtory of theſe forty kings, which he copied from *Boece*, or rather being perſuaded it was all falſe and groundleſs; yet he made it his buſineſs to make it be believed by poſterity; and all this with a premeditated deſign to render our kings accountable, and liable to be puniſhed by their ſubjects, as well as to juſtify the proceedings againſt queen *Mary* in particular: this will, no doubt, appear a very heavy charge againſt ſo famed a writer, ſo much the more that it falls chiefly upon his probity and morality; and therefore requires not to be ſuperficially treated, nor advanced without ſubſtantial proofs. In order to make it good I ſhall endeavour to ſhew, 1°. That *Buchanan* had no other ground or authority for all he hath ſet down in his fourth book (over and above what *Fordun* contains) of the names, lives, and reigns of the firſt forty kings, but *Boece*'s hiſtory. 2°. That *Buchanan* was perſuaded, that all that *Boece* wrote of the names, lives, and reigns of theſe forty kings (over and above what's in *Fordun*) was fabulous, and without ground or authority. 3°. That notwithſtanding *Buchanan* himſelf did not believe the accounts that *Boece* gave of theſe kings, yet he does all that lies in his power to render them credible to poſterity, and wrote his hiſtory with a deſign to impoſe them as true. 4°. That his chief intention in all this was to ſupport the maxims of government he had ſettled in his dialogue, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, or a power in the *Scots* to depoſe and puniſh their ſoveraigns.

§. 4. I. *That* Buchanan *had no other ground nor authority for all he hath ſet down in his fourth book (over and above what* Fordun *contains) of the names, lives, and reigns of the firſt forty kings, but* Boece's *hiſtory.*

To be convinced of this, there needs no more but to compare together the accounts that theſe two hiſtorians give of theſe forty kings; and it will be found that *Buchanan*'s account is a meer abridgment of that of *Boece*, in which *Buchanan* hath only omitted the fabulous ſtories, to give it, as we ſhall ſee, more credit. 2°. The ſame names of kings, the ſame genealogy, the years of their reigns and death; the ſame uſage they met with from their nobles or ſtates, contained in *Buchanan*'s hiſtory, are to be found exactly in that of *Boece*, and in no other ancient hiſtory nor record: nor is there one paſſage of all theſe forty kings reigns in *Buchanan*, which is not in *Boece*, excepting a few of no conſequence, from *Roman* writers. 3°. Though *Buchanan*, in the fifth and following books of his hiſtory, from king *Fergus* II. downwards, is careful to quote our ancient monaſtery books or hiſtories; ſuch as *Fordun*, the book of *Paſlay*, *Winton*, &c. yet he never mentions one *Scotiſh* hiſtorian, to authorize any thing of what he writes of the firſt forty kings in his fourth book: the reaſon is obvious, becauſe he found no where, but in *Boece*, all that he relates of them, and no where, but in him, what he ſets down of the depoſing power.

§. 5. II. *That* Buchanan *was perſuaded, that all that* Boece *had written of theſe firſt forty kings (over and above what's in* Fordun*) was fabulous, without any probable ground, and deſerved no credit.*

THAT *Buchanan* was perſuaded, that all that *Boece* wrote of the genealogy, names, lives, actions, and reigns of theſe firſt kings was groundleſs and fabulous, is clear from the principles laid down by *Buchanan* himſelf in his ſecond book, of the ignorance in which the inhabitants of *Britain* were in ancient times, of all paſt tranſactions; for no knowledge of paſt tranſactions could be preſerved, but either by written accounts and monuments of hiſtory, or by traditions or relations of the *Bards* or *Seanachies*. Now as to written records, or hiſtorical accounts of ancient tranſactions in *Britain*, (*a*) *Buchanan* firſt ſuppoſes with reaſon, that the northern, and more inland inhabitants of *Britain* were more barbarous and ignorant of what paſt before their time, than thoſe upon the ſouthern coaſt, where *Julius Cæſar* made his deſcent and inquiry; and yet even among thoſe laſt *Cæſar* could find no accounts of paſt tranſactions; and he met with ſo great ignorance, that they believed the inland inhabitants (*b*) were originally of the iſland itſelf, and not come from elſewhere: and about one hundred years after *Julius Cæſar*, when the *Romans* had made the round of *Britain*, and diſcovered all the inmoſt receſſes of it under *Agri-*

(*a*) In ea parte Britanniæ quam Cæſar attigit, nulla prorſus vetuſtarum rerum erat memoria. Apud interiores vero, qui longè incultius agebant, longè minus: adeo ut cum illos de gentis origine, & veterrimis Inſulæ cultoribus rogaret, nihil certe comperiſſe ſcribat. *Buchan. hiſt. l.* 2. *fol.* 12. *novæ edit. Freebairn*, *p.* 22.

(*b*) Britanniæ pars interior ab iis incolitur quos natos in Inſula ipſi memoriæ proditum dicunt. *Cæſar de bello Gall. l.* 5.

cola; (*a*) *Tacitus*, who had his accounts from *Agricola*, and thoſe that accompanied him in that expedition, tells us, he could find no certain account of the natives that he could commit to writing, for the information of poſterity: and this was about four hundred years after the time that *Boece*, and from him *Buchanan*, pretends to give us a diſtinct hiſtory of the reigns and actions of our ancient kings.

(*b*) *BUCHANAN* proves the want of all ancient records of hiſtory in *Britain*, from *Gildas* the eldeſt *Britiſh* writer, who lived in the ſixth age, and could tell us nothing of their origine, or antient civil hiſtory; and acknowledges that the little he hath of the religious part of their hiſtory, was not from any *Britiſh* monuments or records, which, ſays (*c*) *Gildas*, in caſe there ever were any, were quite loſt: and this aſſertion of *Gildas*, which *Buchanan* brings to prove the want of hiſtorical records among the *Britains*, includes all the reigns of the firſt forty *Scotiſh* kings: ſince *Gildas* lived about one hundred years after the time that *Boece*

(*a*) Poſt Cæſarem Corn. Tacitus non minore fide, quam diligentia ſcriptor, jam perluſtrata Romanis claſſibus Britannia, intimiſque latebris ejus excuſſis, ne ipſe quidam quidquam certi, quod poſteritati proderet; invenit. *Buchan. ubi ſupra.*

(*b*) Gildas quoque, qui ſupra quadringentos annos poſt Tacitum vixit, ſe non e monumentis, quæ nulla erant, ſed ex tranſmarina relatione, quæ ſcribit, tradere affirmat. *Buchan. ibid.*

(*c*) Hiſtor. Gildæ, *cap.* 2. *pag.* 2. *edit.* Tho. Gale.

and *Buchanan* place the overthrow of the *Scotiſh* monarchy in *Britain*, under *Eugenius* the firſt, who was according to them the laſt of theſe ancient forty kings, and predeceſſor to *Fergus* II. whom they make the reſtorer of the monarchy.

AND by conſequence *Buchanan*, by *the inferences he draws from the expreſſions of* Julius Cæſar, Tacitus, *and of* Gildas, having proved, that even in the ſouth of *Britain* the ignorance of paſt tranſactions, and of all ancient records, was ſo great in the fifth age; and ſuppoſing it muſt have been yet greater in the northern parts, *Buchanan* in courſe could believe nothing certain of what *Boece* relates of the reigns of the firſt forty kings, or any particulars of what paſt in the north of *Britain* before the fifth age, except what could be drawn from the *Roman*, or other foreign writers. I added here deſignedly [*by the inferences* Buchanan *draws from thoſe paſſages*] becauſe I think he ſtrains them beyond what they'll bear in the original writers: but it ſuffices, that he underſtood by theſe paſſages, that as far down as the fifth or ſixth age there was no credible accounts remaining of paſt tranſactions in the north of *Britain*, to convince us that *Buchanan* believed nothing of what he wrote after *Boece*, in his hiſtory of the firſt forty kings.

THIS is not all: *Buchanan* in the ſame place, conſequently to the ignorance in which he ſuppoſes (with reaſon) that the inhabitants of *Britain* were in thoſe ages of all paſt tranſactions in the iſland, concludes by telling us, that (*a*) they who pretend to ancient annals or records of things paſt of old in *Britain*, muſt firſt give us account who tranſmitted down theſe annals or hiſtories to us; where they have been ſo long preſerved and concealed, ſo as no mention ſhould have been of them till of late? how they were conveyed down incorrupted to us after ſo many ages? Would not one think that *Buchanan* had here in view *Boece*'s *Veremund*, and other vouchers? at leaſt, without naming them, he could not more plainly deſcribe them. Beſides, that tho' *Veremund* and the reſt had been genuine hiſtories, the queſtion ſtill recurrs, What means they had to be informed of the particulars of the lives and reigns of theſe forty kings, the lateſt of them about ſeven hundred years before *Veremund*, and the earlieſt about thirteen hundred, before he is ſuppoſed to have written?

(*b*) BUT leſt recourſe might be had to the *Bards* or *Seanachies*, as the preſervers of the memory of paſt tranſactions, *Buchanan* is careful to take away

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(*a*) Igitur qui de veteribus annalibus Britannorum originem afferre ſe aſſeverant, reddenda, opinor, illis erit ratio, Quis primus iſta tradiderit; ubi tandiu latuerint, quomodo ad nos tot poſt ſæcula incorrupta pervenerint. *Buchan. ubi ſupra, novæ edit.* 22.

(*b*) Quod autem ad Bardos & Seneciones veteris memoriæ cuſtodes, quidam confugiunt, prorſus perridiculè faciunt, &c. *Buchan. ibid. novæ edit. pag.* 22.

alſo that deſperate refuge; and tells us plainly, that it were ridiculous to expect any certainty of hiſtory from them: and for a proof of it he gives us this deſcription of them: that the *Bards* were altogether ignorant of letters, and left no records of ancient tranſactions behind them; that the *Seanachies* were maintained in every clan, on purpoſe to chant out by heart rythms compoſed on the praiſes of their patrons, having no learning at all; and their ſubſiſtence depending on their flattering great men, no credit could be given to them.

IN fine, *Buchanan* concludes his obſervations upon the ignorance the *Britains* of old were in of the knowledge of ancient hiſtory, in theſe words. *In (a) ſo great a ſilence of ancient writers concerning matters of antiquity, when men were often ignorant of the truth of what paſt in their own times; there being nothing aſſured and ſincere, I think it more modeſt, ſays* Buchanan, *not to be aſhamed to be ſilent, than by deviſing falſhoods to ſhew one's impudence, and ſlight the better judgment of other men.* Theſe were *Buchanan*'s ſincere ſentiments of ours, and the reſt of the *Britiſh* high antiquities, when, as yet, free from, or laying aſide the violent ſpirit of faction and party, wherewith he was animated in writing his hiſtory, he conſidered more calmly what he met with in the ancient *Roman* and *Britiſh* writers, of the ignorance in which the *Bri-*

(*a*) Buchan. ubi ſupra, *novæ edit. p.* 23.

tains, even of the ſouth, and more yet, thoſe of the north, were of all paſt tranſactions in ancient times, and in particular of thoſe of the ſeven centuries, from *Fergus* I. till *Fergus* II. How much more honourable had it been to his own reputation, and how happy for his country, if he had continued cloſe to theſe principles, with which his more than ordinary erudition had furniſhed him!

As to the time when he wrote the firſt preliminary books of his hiſtory, whence the above quoted paſſages are taken: the remark that *M. Ruddiman* makes in his learned obſervations on *Buchanan*'s hiſtory, upon a paſſage of the firſt book, where *Buchanan* corrects what he had advanced in his fourth book concerning the ancient monument, commonly called *Jules-Hoff*; that remark ſhews very well, that the two or three firſt books were either written, or at leaſt reviſed, and augmented with new obſervations by the author, after the fourth book was compoſed: but that theſe firſt books were compoſed, as to the ſubſtance of them, before the hiſtory, and only reviſed and augmented by *Buchanan*, with new obſervations, after he had written his hiſtory; appears to me much more probable for the reaſons following.

1°. It ſeems much more natural, that a man of *Buchanan*'s great reading would premiſe to the hiſtory which he intended to give of his country, ſome ſuch diſcuſſions on the country itſelf; the firſt inhabitants, *&c.* as are contained in the two firſt books, than bluntly to begin the hiſtory, as the fourth book doth, without any preliminary. 2°. There appears no where, that I could obſerve, in theſe three firſt books, any thing of that ſpirit of party with which *Buchanan* was ſo poſſeſſed when he wrote his hiſtory, and in which he continued to the end of it, that it diſcovers itſelf almoſt in every page. 3°. It appears by *Buchanan*'s (*a*) letters, written about the time, or after he had finiſhed his hiſtory; and by the ſame learned author's (*b*) obſervations on them in *Buchanan*'s life; that he was then ſo oppreſſed with the weight of age and infirmities, that he had given over all ſtudies that required any great application: and ſo I think it no ways likely that he could, in thoſe circumſtances, have compoſed the two firſt books, which contain ſuch a variety of obſervations, that required a more than ordinary application, a ready memory, and preſence of mind, of which *Buchanan* at that age, and under thoſe infirmities, is not to be ſuppoſed capable; and that all he could do in that ſituation of body and mind, was to reviſe what he had compoſed long before, and augment it with ſuch new obſervations, as he had afterwards made. In fine, the introduction, or beginning of the firſt book, appears viſibly to be the

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(*a*) Ego vero literis jam valedixi. *Epiſt.* 37. *p.* 32. *novæ edit.*

(*b*) Senio & morbis fractus. *Vit. Buchan. novæ edit. p.* 11.

(*a*) words of a writer, that had not already written the hiſtory of his country, but was only reſolved to ſet about it.

So upon the whole, I am much more inclined to look upon the two firſt books of *Buchanan*'s hiſtory, as compoſed by him, as to the ſubſtance, whilſt he was yet unprejudiced, and before he was embarked in any party or faction, and whilſt he had nothing in view but the truth of hiſtory, and was ſincerely inquiring into the true ſtate of the ancient inhabitants of the northern parts of *Britain*, by the helps which his erudition and lecture of the ancient *Greek* and *Roman* writers furniſhed him, as well as the knowledge he had of the *Gælick*, and other ancient languages; and that he afterwards reduced theſe collections into the order in which we have them, with his additional obſervations, to ſerve for an introduction to his hiſtory.

But be that as it will, and whatever time he wrote thoſe firſt books, it is very clear, by the paſſages that I have ſet down from them, that *Buchanan* was perſuaded that there was no credible account of the hiſtory of the northern parts of *Britain*, during the ſeven centuries of the reigns

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(*a*) Cum res geſtas majorum noſtrorum a fabularum vanitate liberare, & ab oblivionis injuria vindicare ſtatuiſſem, non ab re mihi facturus videbar, ſi a primordio, &c. *Buchan. lib.* 1, *hiſt. nova edit. p.* 1.

of the forty kings: and that the hiſtory that *Boece* had given of them was not only without any credible voucher, but fabulous, and contradicted by the more ancient hiſtorians of the *Scots.*

For it is a new proof, that *Buchanan* at the bottom put no truſt in *Boece*'s hiſtory nor vouchers, and only followed him becauſe he found him fit for his preſent purpoſe: that *Buchanan* was perfectly well acquainted with *Fordun*'s chronicle, and our other monaſtery books, and valued them ſo much beyond *Boece*, that in fixing the year of *Fergus* IId's re-eſtabliſhment, where properly *Fordun*'s hiſtory of the reigns of our kings begins, he quite abandons *Boece*'s chronology, who had poſtponed king *Fergus* II's reſtoration until *A. D.* 422, (that he might give that king time to go to the ſiege of *Rome* with *Alarick*, *A. D.* 409.) and follows that of *Fordun*, who places this reſtoration *A. D.* 403. And *Buchanan* continues to follow *Fordun*'s chronology in the ſucceeding reigns: this ſhews the little account he made of *Boece* and his famed vouchers; and that if he had hitherto followed him, it was becauſe he had no other guide in the reigns of the forty kings ſo fitted to his deſigns; for *Fordun* had paſs'd over thoſe reigns, and given only a ſlight account of one or two of them for want of vouchers.

Besides, that *Buchanan* in reality was ſo much perſuaded, that *Fordun*'s authority in our hiſtory was preferable to that of *Boece*; that in the reigns of thoſe among our kings, after *Fergus* II. whom *Boece*, from his forged vouchers, had ſet down as inſtances of the power that their ſubjects exerciſed over them: *Buchanan*, for the moſt part, ſets down *Fordun*'s account of theſe kings, tho' quite contradictory to that of *Boece*; tho' at the ſame time, not to loſe entirely ſuch uſeful ſupports of his principles as thoſe later inſtances of *Boece* furniſh, he fails not to ſet down alſo *Boece*'s accounts of theſe kings, and then leaves the whole in doubt, and to the choice of his reader; knowing very well that men of his own principles, whom he had chiefly in view, would not fail to prefer that account of the ſtory that confirmed them: but to be ſure a man of *Buchanan*'s principles had never left in doubt inſtances ſo proper to ſupport them, if he had not had a great eſteem of *Fordun*'s authority, and a very ſmall value, if any at all, for that of *Boece*.

ALL this ſhews how well *Buchanan* was acquainted with *Fordun*'s chronicles, and by conſequence with the old genealogy of our kings ſo often mentioned by *Fordun*, and by all our monaſtery books: and the preference he gives all along to thoſe over *Boece*'s accounts, makes it no leſs certain, that he valued incomparably more the ſeries of that genealogy inſerted in their chronicles, and looked upon it as the only authentick; ſo much the more, that the names were conformable to the old *Scotiſh* or *Gælick Idiom*, whereof *Buchanan*, born in thoſe parts, was a good judge: and ſo he muſt have looked upon the new genealogy in *Boece*'s hiſtory, as well as the very names of the moſt of his firſt forty kings, as a new invention, and could not but evidently ſee that theſe names were forged upon falſe readings of the ancient genealogy in *Fordun*, and the other MSS. hiſtories: and by conſequence *Buchanan* muſt have been in reality convinced in his judgment, that *Boece*'s whole hiſtory of the forty kings, having thoſe forged names of kings for its foundation, was an invention of later times, poſterior to *Fordun*, and therefore abſolutely falſe and fabulous.

§. 6. III. *That notwithſtanding* Buchanan *himſelf did not believe the accounts that* Boece *gave of the firſt forty kings (as we have ſeen) yet he did all that lay in his power to render them credible, and wrote his own hiſtory with that deſign.*

1°. To put this in a clear light, let it be obſerved that all that is contained in the firſt ſix books of *Boece*'s hiſtory, concerning the forty kings, may be naturally reduced to theſe three heads. 1°. The number, names, and genealogy of theſe kings; with ſuch paſſages of their lives and reigns as ſerve to exalt the honour of the *Scots*, and at the ſame time are not manifeſtly fabulous, or do not claſh directly with the certain accounts we have from authentick hiſtory, of the ancient ſtate of the north of *Britain.* 2°. Theſe particulars of *Boece*'s hiſtory of the forty kings, which are either viſibly fabulous, or evidently contradict true ancient hiſtory, in the judgment of all that are skilled in it: as alſo *Boece*'s often quoting *Veremund*, and other pretended ancient writers peculiar to himſelf, and his relying on them for his guarantees. 3°. The many inſtances that *Boece* gives of the *Scots* exerciſing a power over their kings, to call them perſonally to account, and puniſh them for male-adminiſtration. This ſuppoſed, we may eaſily diſcover *Buchanan*'s motives in new moulding the *Scotiſh* hiſtory; why he purſued *Boece*'s plan of it, and followed him as his guide, preferably to *Fordun* and our monaſtery books; and what method he was to follow to render the inſtances of the depoſing power, contained in *Boece*, more credible to poſterity.

II. THERE's no doubt, but of theſe three heads, to which all *Boece*'s hiſtory may be reduced, the third head, containing the many inſtances of the ſubjects curbing their ſoveraigns, was what chiefly pleaſed *Buchanan*, and thoſe that ſet him at work, that being the great ſupport of all their politicks in thoſe days, to juſtify their having impriſoned their lawful ſoveraign, and forced her to renounce her crown to an infant, or rather to her greateſt enemies under the child's name. Now neither *Fordun*, nor any one hiſtory preceding that of *Boece*, furniſhes ſo much as one inſtance of that power exerciſed by the *Scots* over their kings. Therefore the hiſtory of *Boece*, and that alone was proper for their purpoſe, and for carrying on the work of the times: but then the ſecond head, or fabulous part of *Boece*'s hiſtory, rendered all thoſe inſtances of popular power, and indeed all the hiſtory of *Boece*'s forty kings in general, abſolutely incredible to all men verſed in the ancient hiſtory of *Britain*; and ſo the whole became uſeleſs to their purpoſe, unleſs the particulars contained under that ſecond head were retrenched. Now this could not be done but by new moulding *Boece*'s hiſtory, and laying entirely aſide all that is contained under this ſecond head, and making up a compounded context of the firſt and third: the particulars contained under the firſt head being abſolutely neceſſary for a vehicle to the third.

III. No man alive, as we have already obſerved, was fitter every way for executing this deſign than *Buchanan:* his erudition, and skill in antiquity and critical learning, more than ordinary for that age, enabled him to diſcern and retrench what would viſibly ſhock the learned, that is all contained under the ſecond head: his reputation in the learned world, and the air of aſſurance with which he writes, were proper to impoſe on the generality of the readers: and his excellent *Latin* ſtyle, formed on that of the pureſt *Roman* authors, enabled him to put the firſt and third heads, connected into a continued ſeries of hiſtory, in the moſt taking dreſs, to ſet it off among the more polite readers. In fine, his republican principles of government, his prejudices againſt monarchy in general, and againſt his ſoveraign queen *Mary* in particular; his union and joint intereſt with all the enemies of that princeſs, made him zealous in the cauſe.

IV. AND now to come into the detail of the execution of the work laid upon him, of writing our hiſtory in this new dreſs, in order to procure credit to all the inſtances of the depoſing power, mentioned in that of *Boece*, we ſhall find he hath left nothing untried to acquit himſelf of that charge; and taken all the moſt proper means to impoſe on poſterity *Boece*'s hiſtory reformed, and put it in the beſt dreſs, tho' he did not believe it himſelf. In order to this he hath given us the ſame number of forty kings; tho' *Fordun*, whom he truſted more, had called them forty-five: the ſame genealogy as in *Boece*, tho' he knew it to be falſe and fictitious, as being contrary to that given by *Fordun*, and by all writers, and in all ages where it had been mentioned, and that of *Boece*, never heard of before: the ſame names of kings, tho' he knew that moſt of them were forged of late on falſe readings of corrupted and new copies of the genuine old genealogy. He added alſo from *Boece* the years of their reigns, with ſuch particulars of their lives and actions as were proper to make up a continued hiſtory, and ſerve for a bottom to his inſtances of the depoſing power. 2°. To make his new performance more plauſible and acceptable to his own countrymen, and no doubt to give the country reputation among ſtrangers, he hath omitted nothing credible in *Boece*, that tended to ſhew the antiquity of the monarchy; and appears very zealous in that (eſpecially againſt *Humphry Lhuyd*, who had endeavoured to diſcredit *Boece*, which would have undermined all *Buchanan*'s new fabrick.) He hath, moreover, taken from *Boece* ſuch plauſible accounts of the brave actions of the *Scots* in peace and war, under their firſt kings, as could not be proved fabulous, or directly contrary to authentick hiſtory.

V. 3°. THO' he hath nothing material in all his hiſtory of the forty kings, but what is taken from *Boece*, and from him alone; yet knowing that the learned began already to look on *Boece* as a fabulous writer, *Buchanan*, that he might not diſcredit his own performance, which he knew would happen, if it had been thought to be built on the authority of *Boece* or his vouchers, takes particular care never once to name *Boece*, or his *Veremund*, *Campbel*, &c. in all his four books, where he gives the hiſtory of the forty kings: but on the contrary, to gain credit to his own work, and impoſe the better on his vulgar readers, he hath written that hiſtory with the air and aſſurance of a man, that had good authority from ancient records of hiſtory;

hiſtory, diſtinct from *Boece*; but without ever telling us where they are to be found, or even ſo much as naming one of them, which he failed not to do on other occaſions, when he finds, in the continuation of his hiſtory, *Fordun*, or other writers, diſtinct from *Boece*, to vouch what he advances.

VI. 4°. To remove all that might render the credit of his hiſtory dubious, *Buchanan* hath carefully retrenched in his own hiſtory all thoſe particulars of the ſecond head of that of *Boece*, which plainly contradicted ancient hiſtory, or which he foreſaw would be looked upon as viſibly fabulous, tho' they be aſſerted by *Boece* with an equal aſſurance, as taken from his *Veremund* and other vouchers, as the other facts which *Buchanan* retains. Such are the wives of the *Picts*, interceding between them and the *Scots*, like the *Sabinæ* in the *Roman* hiſtory; *Mainus*, like *Numa*, eſtabliſhing the ſacred rites among the *Scots*, according to the *Egyptian* form; king *Dornadilla*'s cauſing tables of laws to be written, *&c.* But all that fine policy, borrowed viſibly from *Titus Livius*, is dropped by *Buchanan*, as are alſo the far-fetched ſtories of king *Ptolomy*'s ambaſſadors, come to make a geographical deſcription of *Scotland*; thoſe of the two *Spaniſh* philoſophers; of the *Druids* in the *Iſle of Man*; of *Fergus* II. going to the ſiege of *Rome*; his bringing thence ancient books for his ſhare of the booty of that rich city, *&c.* All this is left out by *Buchanan*, tho' *Boece* ſays he had it all from his *Veremund*, &c. *Buchanan* alſo paſſes wiſely over in ſilence the *Scots* aſſiſting the *Britains* againſt *Julius Cæſar*, *Auguſtus*'s embaſſy to king *Metellanus*, and all the *Scotiſh* wars with the *Romans*, till *Julius Agricola*'s expedition. *Buchanan* makes no mention of *Boece*'s *Camelodunum* in *Scotland*, and (*a*) reſtores it, as well as the *Brigantes* and *Silures*, to the *Britains*, from whom *Boece* had borrowed them.

VII. To paſs over a number of other reformations and retrenchments made by *Buchanan* in *Boece*'s lives of the forty kings, to give them an air of truth, I ſhall only take notice of the turn he hath given to the life of king *Caractacus*. *Boece* or his vouchers found it honourable for the *Scots* to make that famous prince one of their kings; and therefore having grafted him on his forged genealogy, he gives us in his reign all that *Tacitus* had written of his ſtory, turned in a dreſs proper for a *Scotiſh* king, with many additional exploits and circumſtances of his reign, taken from *Veremund*, and ſuch other records. All this *Buchanan* knew to be abſolutely groundleſs, and drops it accordingly; but then not to loſe quite one of the forty kings, he muſt retain the ſame name: but to obviate all objections from *Tacitus*, who tells us *Caractacus* was king of the *Silures*, or of *South*-

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(*a*) Buchan. *l.* 2. *p.* 23. *vet. Edit.*

Wales: Buchanan makes quite another man of him, quite diſtinct from *Boece*'s *Caractacus*; and accordingly, inſtead of twenty-ſix pages in *Folio*, which *Boece* had filled with the heroick exploits of his king *Caractacus*, *Buchanan* tells us in two lines, that his king *Caractacus* reduced the *Æbudæ*, or weſtern iſlands into order, and no more.

§. 7. IV. Buchanan'*s chief intention in writing his hiſtory, was to ſupport the principles of government of his dialogue,* De Jure Regni, *or the ſubjects power to depoſe and puniſh their kings.*

To prove this we need only to obſerve, that whereas *Buchanan* hath rejected or dropped a vaſt number of particulars of the forty kings lives related by *Boece*, not only of what was viſibly fabulous or falſe, but even of thoſe facts which appear as probable as ſome of thoſe he retained; and this out of ſuch a deſire of abridging the hiſtory of the forty kings, that he hath reduced two hundred pages that it takes up in *Boece* to about twenty pages: yet as to thoſe inſtances contained in *Boece*, of the ſubjects exerciſing a power over their kings; *Buchanan* is ſo far from retrenching any of them, though he knew they were as fabulous as the reſt he had paſt over; that on the contrary, he rather enlarges upon what *Boece* relates of them: and as a learned (*a*) biſhop of the church of *England* juſtly obſerves, *When* Buchanan *deſcribes the barbarous*

(*a*) B. Nicholſon's Scotiſh hiſtorical library, *p.* 115.

aſſaſſination or murther of any of the Scotiſh *kings, he does it with ſuch an air of pleaſure and ſatisfaction, as ſhews that he delighted to dwell on the ſubject; and that the head of a ſlaughter'd monarch could not be a more grateful ſpectacle to the people* (gratum populo ſpectaculum) *than it was to himſelf.* So that he hath not paſt over one ſingle example of that kind without giving it at length; as may be ſeen in what he ſays of *Nothatus*, *Thereus*, *Durſtus*, *Evenus* III. *Dardanus*, *Lugtacus*, *Mogaldus*, *Conarius*, *Satrabil*, *Ethodius*, *Athirco*, *Natholocus*, and *Romachus*; which makes juſt a third part of the forty kings, as we have already (*a*) remarked, that he had reckoned them up in his treatiſe, *De Jure Regni*: and in the relation that he puts in *Morton*'s mouth, *A. D.* 1571, he repeats ſo often over the cuſtom or right of the *Scots*, as he pretends, to degrade and kill their kings: that one ſees he took pleaſure to augment the (*b*) number of them, and to recount the different puniſhments inflicted on them. And yet there cannot be ſhewn one ſingle inſtance, by any hiſtory or record, before king *James* III. of any one of the kings of *Scotland*, having been judicially arraigned, and depoſed by their ſubjects; (for that is the queſtion) and even what was done in

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(*a*) Supra, *pag.* 261.

(*b*) Cum tot reges, quos enumerare longum eſſet, majores noſtri regno exuerint, exilio damnarent, carceribus coercuerint, ſupplicio denique affecerint, &c. *Buchanan hiſt. p.* 398. *edit. Freebairn.*

the caſe of king *James* III. doth not prove it: ſince he was killed in battle by a faction of the nobility in open rebellion, without any form of law, or judicial proceeding; and the act that they paſſed afterwards to juſtify their attempt, was only to ſave themſelves, as hath been (*a*) already obſerved.

So the firſt judicial proceeding, ſentence of condemnation, and formal depoſition of any ſoveraign of *Scotland*, was that of queen *Mary* in *Murray*'s parliament, *A. D.* 1567. And how legal the proceedings againſt that princeſs were, even laying aſide her character of their ſoveraign, and to ſay nothing of the legality of that aſſembly, may be eaſily judged by this; that ſhe was condemned without being heard in her defence, either in perſon, or by advocates, as ſhe moſt earneſtly intreated to be heard; and that in the judgment pronounced againſt her, the ſame perſons were her accuſers, witneſſes, and judges.

As to all the ancient examples of kings depoſed, that *Buchanan* muſters up, it will be found upon examination that they were all without exception, either of the number of *Veremund*'s forty kings, of whom enough hath been ſaid, or of other poſterior kings, whoſe accuſations and proceſs depend wholly on the ſole authority of the ſame

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(*a*) Supra, *p.* 279.

Veremund, related by *Boece*, but contradicted, as (*a*) we elſewhere obſerved, by the authority of *Fordun*, and of all our hiſtorians before king *James* III. or in fine, of the number of thoſe kings that were killed in battle by their competitors, before the order of ſucceſſion was fully regulated and fixed to the next immediate heir: but not ſo much as one inſtance can be alledged of any arraignment, judicial proceeding, or formal depoſition of any one ſoveraign of *Scotland* before the month of *December* 1567. in the aforeſaid caſe of queen *Mary*.

BUT in all this, as I ſaid (*b*) before, on occaſion of king *James* III. I only examine matters of fact, as a critick or an hiſtorian, without medling in the leaſt with what concerns the eſtabliſh'd civil government, or the alterations that have been made in it by our kings and parliaments, ſince the fifteenth or ſixteenth age: the ſoveraign alone, with the eſtates of the kingdom, and no private perſon whatſoever, being the only proper judges of what is beſt for the publick good, which ought to be the aim and ſcope of all government: and thus much as to *Buchanan*'s ſo often repeated examples of kings of *Scotland* arraigned, judicially depoſed, and puniſhed by their ſubjects.

AND now to conclude what concerns him: by what hath been ſaid in theſe four laſt paragraphs,

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(*a*) Supra, *p.* 259.

(*b*) Supra, *p.* 253.

it will appear to the impartial reader that *Buchanan*'s intention, in his hiſtory of the forty kings after *Boece*, was to impoſe on poſterity, as true hiſtory, what he himſelf knew to be without any ſolid ground; and that one of his chief motives in writing it, was to confirm the principles of the depoſing power which he had laid down in his treatiſe, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*. As to the ſubſtance of his hiſtory of the forty kings, having ſhewn that it hath no other foundation but that of *Boece*, the arguments brought againſt this laſt, do equally refute that of *Buchanan*. And to finiſh what concerns it, it is remarkable, that it came out in a proper juncture for ſuch a work, to wit, *A. D.* 1582. whilſt king *James* VI. was detained priſoner by a faction of the nobility: but that king was no ſooner at liberty, than in a free (*a*) parliament, *A. D.* 1584. *Buchanan*'s hiſtory, as well as the dialogue *De Jure Regni*, were both ſuppreſſed: and king *James* himſelf in his (*b*) inſtructions to the prince his ſon, joining *Knox*'s libels, as he calls them, to thoſe of *Buchanan*, enjoins an exact execution of the laws made againſt them.

I doubt not but ſome of the admirers of *Buchanan* will be ſhocked at the freedom which I have taken to cenſure ſo great a man: but, as I obſerved,

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(*a*) Parl. 8. Jac. VI. act. 134.

(*b*) Non illos Buchanani & Cnoxi famoſos libellos dico: quos qui in tua uſque tempora aſſervaverit, ſentiat ille mearum legum pœnas. *Baſilicon doron. pag.* 163.

ved, when I firſt entered upon what related to him in this eſſay, I am as great an admirer as any of his panegyriſts, of his ready wit, his eloquence, his inimitable *Latin* ſtyle in proſe, and yet more in verſe: all theſe rare talents render him indeed a *great man* in thoſe qualities; but all theſe qualities may be, and frequently are, abuſed by thoſe that poſſeſs them in the higheſt degree: the moſt eſtimable quality of all, is that which enables and diſpoſes one to make a right uſe of all theſe talents, that is, the quality of the *good man:* and this is what I cannot diſcover in his hiſtorical writings, which alone fall under my conſideration in this eſſay, and eſpecially thoſe againſt queen *Mary*, but juſt the contrary: this quality of a *good* and virtuous *man* certainly includes the moral virtues of gratitude, humanity, moderation, and compaſſion on thoſe in diſtreſs; equity in judging, warineſs, and reſervedneſs in condemning, *&c.* and this with regard had to all in general, how much more with regard had to his native ſoveraign, and to one who had beſtowed upon him ſo many marks of favour, diſtinction and eſteem, which ſhe continued to heap upon him, as long as it was in her power to do it; and eſpecially that of making ſo early a choice of him, notwithſtanding the zeal ſhe knew he had for a religion different from her own, to intruſt him, preferably to others, with the education of the prince her ſon.

Now I ask if there is the leaſt ſign or appearance of theſe qualities that make the *good* and *virtuous man* in *Buchanan*'s writings, in regard of queen *Mary*, from the moment ſhe fell into adverſity? Nothing can be more oppoſite to them than a credulity of all the moſt malicious reports ſpread againſt her by her greateſt enemies; a forward readineſs to catch at all the frailties and weakneſſes ſo ordinary to the ſex, and all imprudences ſo inevitable to one in ſo intricate circumſtances as queen *Mary* was in, who was continually toſſed between different factions and parties; diſappointed often by thoſe ſhe had moſt truſted, having none ſhe could ſecurely rely upon: to ſee him give the worſt conſtruction that malice could invent to all her words and actions; to make uſe of all his talents of ready invention, wit, and fluent eloquence to expoſe her as a *Medæa*, or monſter of cruelty and lewdneſs, to the eyes of a foreign court, and indeed to all the world; and all this without any aſſured proofs, or any ground, but *conjectures* on the reſemblance of the writings in *Morton*'s box to the queen's hand; tho' as (*a*) *Camden* judiciouſly obſerves, *There are every where ſo many forgers that can ſo cunningly imitate and counterfeit other mens hands, that hardly the true can be known from the falſe.* And thus to inſult with the bittereſt ſatyre upon a ſoveraign captive diſtreſſed, deprived

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(*a*) Camden, vit. Eliz. *p.* 145.

of all that could comfort or ſupport her amidſt all her repeated misfortunes, and in a ſituation capable to have touched and mollified the heart of the greateſt enemy, with whom there had remained any ſentiment of humanity and generoſity.

By all this it appears but too plainly, that all thoſe fine maxims and ſentences of morality, which are admired in *Buchanan*'s writings, had not ſunk deep in his own heart, tho' his great reading had furniſhed him with them, and his ready wit and noble ſtile made it eaſy to him to have them preſent to his memory, to give them a delicate turn, and to bring them to the purpoſe into his converſations, letters, and other writings.

I ſhall not meddle here with his politicks and ſchemes of government; but certainly he had done more wiſely, as all good ſubjects ought, to have left the regulating of thoſe matters to kings and parliaments: and if one may judge, by what he lived himſelf to ſee, of the effects of the change in the ſtate of his country, to which he had contributed more than any man of his rank, it could give him little ſatisfaction or comfort to ſee it torn to pieces in its very bowels, and by the different parties and turns of affairs, become a ſcene of blood, rapine and hoſtilities, from the time of the impriſoning and depoſing the ſoveraign, to his own death; not to ſpeak here of its being rendered ſubject to, and dependent on the motions of a neighbouring court: all which took its riſe from the oppreſſion and captivity of the lawful ſoveraign, in which *Buchanan* had ſo great a hand: for thoſe that had ſucceſſively uſurped her authority were eaſily brought into a dependence on, or, according to the phraſe of the time, kept at the devotion of *England*, either by threatnings of reſtoring the queen to liberty and to her throne, or by bribes and (*a*) penſions, of which even *M. George* himſelf had his ſhare, and that too proportioned rather to the ſervice he had done to *England* againſt the mother, or could yet do to it, being about the ſon, than to his rank; he being the only one, under the degree of an earl or lord, that had 100 *l.* ſterling of penſion aſſigned him. By theſe means *Scotland* was kept in ſubjection: whereas queen *Mary* had a greater ſoul than to truckle to any foreign power; and, whilſt ſhe ſat on the throne, had always preſerved her crown and kingdom in that freedom and independency, which her royal anceſtors had tranſmitted to her.

BUT, *Buchanan* lived to ſee thoſe four regents, who, after perſecuting the queen, had uſurped her authority, periſh one after another: and the laſt of them, *Morton*, after having drawn upon himſelf by his rapine, lewdneſs and cruelty, (*b*) the hatred and maledictions of the generality of

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(*a*) The names of thoſe in *Scotland* that had penſions out of *England*. *Cotton Library Caligula*, C. 5. *fol.* iii.

(*b*) See the accounts of *Morton* in Sir *James Melvil's* memoirs, and in thoſe of the four regents, publiſhed by *Crawford*, *A. D.* 1706.

his country, periſh'd unlamented on a ſcaffold for that ſame crime, with which *Buchanan*, upon accuſations chiefly produced by him, had with ſo inhumane a bitterneſs defamed his ſoveraign. I ſhall ſay no more, but that I ſhould not wonder that theſe, and ſuch other melancholy conſiderations, upon a nearer approach of eternity, ſhould have awaked in *Buchanan* ſome remorſe of his writings and actions, as it is credibly (*a*) reported that they did: the reſt muſt be left to the light of that day, when all will be made manifeſt.

CHAP. IV.

Concluſion of this firſt ſection.

NOW to bring this firſt ſection on the *Scots* to a concluſion: I have all along proceeded in it on the ſuppoſition of the truth or probability of the ancient ſettlement and monarchy in the *Scotiſh* line, as well as of that of the *Iriſh* high antiquities, as the remote antiquities of both nations are ſuppoſed by *Fordun*, and our monaſtery-writers his continuators: and in that ſuppoſition, among other things, I have ſhewn that the names, genealogy, lives and actions, and all that particular detail which *Boece* from *Veremund*, and *Buchanan* from *Boece*, have added to the ſhort account of the

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(*a*) Buchanani vita edit. Freebairn, *p.* 11.

forty or forty-five firſt kings left us by the more ancient writers, is falſe and groundleſs, and deſerves no credit; and at the ſame time I have endeavoured to lay open the ſecret ſprings whence theſe new inventions firſt aroſe; this made the chief ſubject of the third chapter of this ſection: but before I entered upon it, I endeavoured in the two preceding chapters to ſhew, that the true honour of the preſent inhabitants of *Scotland*, and the antiquity of the royal line and monarchy, might be as well, if not better, ſuſtained without theſe details of *Boece* and *Buchanan*, as with them: ſo that I have ground to hope that, when matters are well conſidered, none of the learned of my countrymen will find fault with the freedom I have taken with theſe modern hiſtorians.

I am rather afraid, that thoſe who are well verſed in the ancient hiſtory of *Britain*, will blame me for having enlarged too much, on diſproving a ſtory, which the taſte of this learned age hath in great meaſure diſcredited long ago: but becauſe there are ſtill ſome, who either out of a miſtaken zeal for the antiquity of the monarchy in the *Scotiſh* line, or from other motives, will not eaſily part with *Boece* and *Buchanan*'s ſtory of the forty kings, I was reſolved (after having already ſhewn, (*a*) that the antiquity of the ſettlement of the inhabitants of the north of *Britain*, and of the

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(*a*) Supra, Book I. c. 2. art. 8 & 9.

monarchy, wants not the invention of the forty kings to ſupport it) to go to the bottom of it, and to put in ſo clear a light the forgery of the vouchers, on whoſe authority *Boece* and *Buchanan*'s hiſtory of the forty kings are grounded; that the accounts they give of the barbarous uſage of ſo many of their kings, and ſo many other fabulous ſtories, might not remain longer to be a reproach to the nation.

BUT as to the antiquity of the ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*, and an ancient monarchy even in the *Scotiſh* line, laying aſide the additions of *Boece* and *Buchanan*, I was long of opinion that, on ſuppoſition of the truth of the *Iriſh high antiquities*, thoſe of the *Scots* in *Britain* might be much more probably ſuſtained on the old ſyſtem of our hiſtory, ſuch as *Fordun* and his continuators had left it. The few particulars they contain of the *Scots*, from *Fergus* I. till *Fergus* II. laying aſide ſome things viſibly fabulous, appearing to me leſs oppoſite to the ancient *Roman* and *Britiſh* hiſtories, and much more eaſily reconcileable to them, than thoſe long details of the lives of the firſt forty kings, as they were afterwards ſet down by *Boece* and *Buchanan*.

THEREFORE, after being on the one hand fully convinced, for the reaſons I have ſet down in the laſt four articles, of the falſhood of the details given us by *Boece*, *Buchanan*, and their followers, of the firſt forty kings; and on the other, being unwilling wholly to abandon a ſyſtem of our antiquities, which had been generally received among the *Scots*, during the three laſt centuries and upwards; I was reſolved to leave nothing untried that was conſiſtent with truth, and might gratify my country-men, attached to the antiquity of the ſettlement and monarchy in the *Scotiſh* line.

IN order to this, my firſt application was to ſupport the ſyſtem of our antiquities much on the ſame footing on which *Fordun*'s followers and continuators had left them, before *Boece*'s hiſtory appeared, by endeavouring. 1°. To ſhew, that if the ancient ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Ireland* be admitted of, in that caſe it might be made appear, that it was very probable that the *Scots* were ſettled in *Britain* before the *Romans* entered it: but without pretending to fix any preciſe dates of the time of the coming of the *Scots* into *Britain*, becauſe ſuch dates are not to be looked for among illiterate people, ſuch as all the northern inhabitants of *Europe* were in thoſe early times: and to this end I had collected as plauſible authorities and reaſons as, I conceive, had been hitherto produced for the early ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*; whereof the reader will have ſeen a part in the ſecond chapter of this ſection.

2°. WITH the ſame view, in another pretty large diſſertation, I had entered into a full diſcuſſion of all the paſſages of the *Roman* and *Britiſh* writers, from the firſt time that the name of *Scots* is made mention of by ancient authors; and had ſhewn, at leaſt with probability, againſt *Camden*, *Uſher*, and others, that all thoſe paſſages might be reconciled with *Fordun*'s ſyſtem of our antiquities, (admitting ſome corrections of it) and in particular with the ſettlement of the *Scots*, before the *Romans* firſt entry into this iſland, with their being forced out of *Britain* by the *Romans*, after the middle of the fourth century, with their reſtoration in the beginning of the fifth, *&c.*

BUT all this being grounded upon the ſuppoſition of the certainty of the ancient ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Ireland*, I muſt acknowledge, that when I began to look more narrowly into this, as it was neceſſary that I ſhould, that being the foundation of all the ſyſtem of our antiquities, there aroſe in me ſo many doubts and difficulties about this, that I began to look upon all my labour as loſt: for it not being doubted of that the *Scots* of *Britain* came into it at firſt from *Ireland*, it ſeemed very ridiculous to ſuppoſe, or to endeavour to prove, that the *Scots* were ſettled in *Britain* before the incarnation, if we be not ſure that they were then ſettled in *Ireland:* this obliged me to lay aſide all that I had written upon the ancient ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*, till I ſhould firſt examine the grounds of the *Iriſh* remote antiquities, that is, of the ſettlement of the *Scots* in in *Ireland* ſo many ages before the incarnation; that accordingly I might be able to determine the true *Æra* of the firſt coming of the *Scots* into *Britain*, and of the beginning of their monarchy in this iſland.

THIS diſcuſſion engaged me into new enquiries, and theſe gave occaſion to many new obſervations and new diſcoveries in the ancient ſtate of the *Scots*, both in *Ireland* and *Britain*; all which make the ſubject of the ſecond ſection on the *Scots*.

HONI · SOIT · QUI · MAL · Y · PENSE